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HISTORY
OF
R U S S I A,

FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY BY RURIK,
TO THE
ACCESSION OF CATHARINE THE SECOND,

By W. TOOKE, F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND OF THE
FREE ECONOMICAL SOCIETY AT ST. PETERSBURG.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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HISTORY

OF THE

R. U. S. I. A.

MEMOIRS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND OF THE
ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO THE
ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY W. TOOKER, F.R.S.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND OF THE
ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

NEW YORK

1870

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PREFACE.

FOR gratifying a laudable curiosity concerning the history of a people become so famous as the Russians, nothing satisfactory or systematical has been hitherto attempted in our language; a few hasty compilations excepted, extracted from the publications of prejudiced or ignorant travellers, and consequently abounding in misconceptions and errors, in which the very names of the persons and places cannot possibly be distinguished.

Nor is this at all to be wondered at; as certainly it would have required no small degree of presumption in any one to sit down to compose a history for which he had no materials: however thus it has happened that, when our celebrated writers have had occasion to speak of Russia, they have been obliged to do it in a cursory manner, and are then mistaken in almost all they have said of it.

A foreigner, who should have even gone to Russia thirty or forty years ago for the express purpose of studying the history of the country,

would have been much surprised at finding no assistance, unless he could have had access to the archives and the libraries where records are preserved ; as at that time nothing had been printed on the subject of history, excepting a very succinct compendium, which had no other merit than in being the first attempt of the kind, and was generally read because a better was not to be had.

Since that time the sources of russian history have been greatly multiplied. Not that the Russians are in possession even now of a regular history of their nation ; but they can trace the various events of it down to the reign of tzar Alexey Mikhaïlovitch, father of Peter I: these being recorded in the several chronicles that have been published within some years past, and in the works of several modern Russians and a few learned Germans, who, being settled in Russia, devoted their leisure to illustrate and methodize its history.

The history of Russia has, however, one grand defect beyond that of most other countries, consisting in the difficulty too often met with in following the thread of it. This defect arises from the successive appearance, as actors, of sovereigns who owe their feeble dominion to the partitions that were made by their fathers of the different parts of their territory among

their children : dominions soon to be subdivided farther, if they who possess them have a numerous offspring ; or to be reunited to the body of the state, if their princes die without male descendants : a confusion which is frequently increased, as many of these petty sovereigns, already but indistinctly known, bear the same name. It is true, they are distinguished in the chronicles by the name of their fathers ; but it often happens that these very fathers are still more unknown than their children : and the history of them is rendered the more obscure, since the authors of the chronicles have usually either neglected it as indifferent, or only speak of it when it has had an influence on the main history of Russia. They appear upon the scene ; we know not who they are : as soon as we are acquainted with them, they disappear at once, and are as quickly forgotten. If some of their descendants come in turn on the stage, we are at a loss to recollect their fathers.

Attempts to digest the jarring interests, and petty, though cruel contests of the several princes, as so many distinct transactions of their particular reigns, would be a futile affectation ; of no more consequence to the essential purposes of history, than tedious details of the politics

by which the african chiefs are actuated in their hostilities against each other, or pompous accounts of the exploits by which our colonies are furnished with slaves.

To conclude: the ancient history of Russia only excites any interest when a sovereign unites under his dominion nearly all the parts of the state, as during the reign of the first Vladimir, and that of Yaroslav his son; or when he alone attracts the whole attention to himself, as in the case of Andrew, son of Yury; or, finally, when that attention is drawn to the country itself, as at the time of the invasion of the Tartars. But this interest only becomes regularly continued from the reign of Dmitri Donski, because he was the first who humbled for ever the power of the apanaged princes.

After all, if the ancient history of Russia presents us with few lively features, no one perhaps lies under less suspicion of falsehood. It derives this advantage from the discretion of Nestor, the first of her historians. The simplicity of his style, which however is not everywhere destitute of eloquence, bears the striking character of truth. If he have been occasionally misled by false traditions, concerning the times preceding the reign of Vladimir the great; it appears from his agreement with the greek historians, that at least

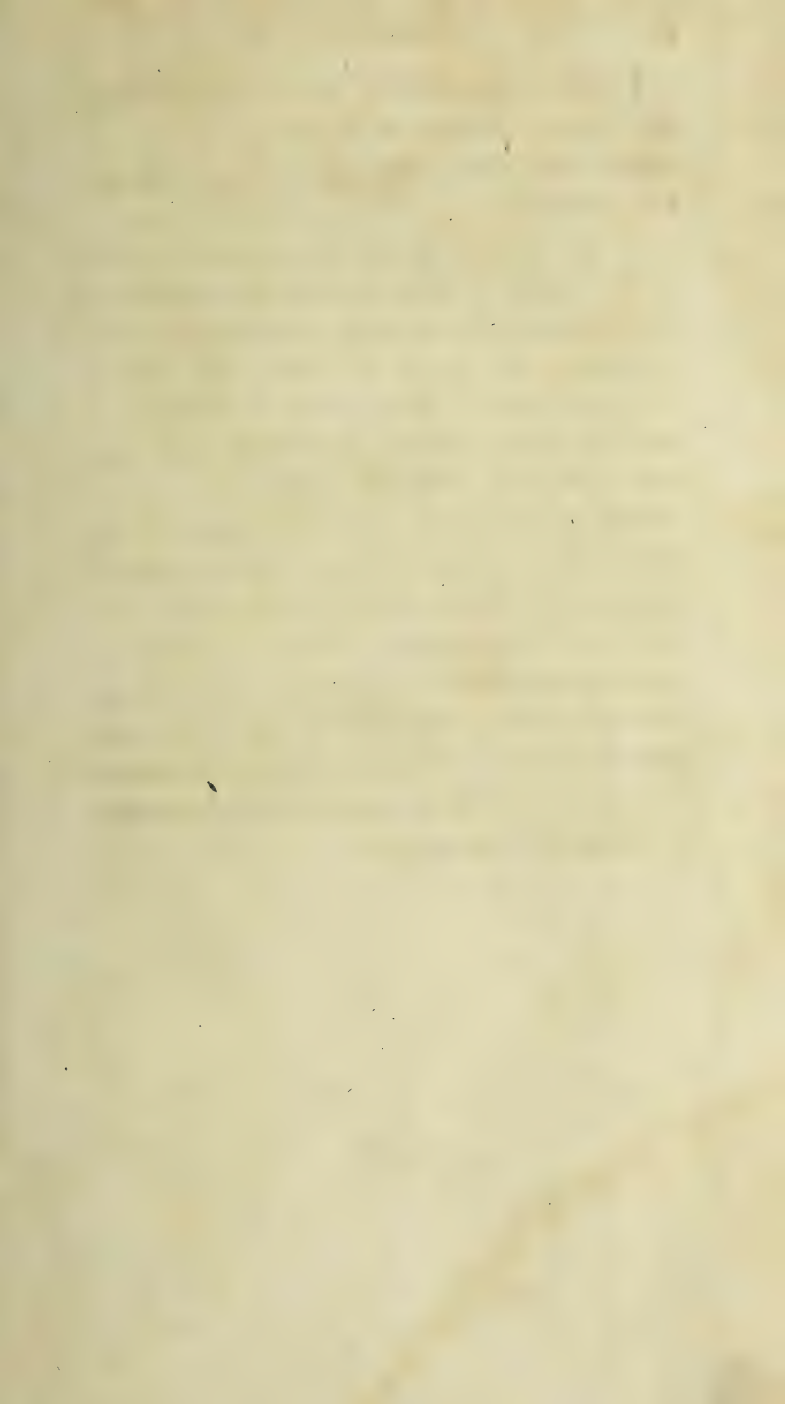
least he was not ignorant of the leading facts; and perhaps no writer of the same period had so little fondness for relating prodigies. He has handed down to us some erroneous accounts, but he did not designedly invent them. His prudence was imitated by his successors. The historians of the middle ages were more addicted to the marvellous: but the prodigies they are pleased to relate are generally nothing but superfluous episodes in their works, which may be easily set aside; and though they may perplex, they do not conceal the truth.

To all contemplative spectators of Russia amidst the present occurrences of the world, the questions must naturally arise: — What was the beginning of this mighty empire; what fortunes have befallen it; and how has it arrived at its present height? — To answer these questions is the principal aim of this history, in which I have endeavoured to represent the leading events that have had any influence on the empire at large, or some considerable divisions of it, and by their means on the nation itself. The earlier part of the history will be found much compressed, as I thought it better to deliver only what stands on credible authority, than to swell the book with idle tales and legendary absurdities only for the sake of refuting them.

I intitle it not a history, much less the history, but simply History of Russia, diligently collected from native chronologists and other primitive sources.

In the hope of giving an agreeable variety to the work, I have inserted the preliminary dissertations on the language and religion of the aborigines, the sketch of Mosco, the learned disquisition on the principality of Tmutarakan, with the account of St. Petersburg, and other cities conquered from the Swedes.

The medals from which the plates are engraved were struck by order of her majesty Catharine II. for the sake of preserving the likenesses of the sovereigns, as well as they could be completed from the drawings, some of them sufficiently rude, that were found in the monasteries and other antient buildings, throughout the empire, which she caused to be thoroughly ransacked for that purpose.





Drawn & Engraved by J. Chapman from a Series of Medals in the possession of the Rev.^d Wm Tooke
 London, Publish'd Feb^r 1800. by McG's Longman & Rees, Paternoster Row.

SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

Explanatory of the Plates.

PLATE I.

FAMILY OF RURIC.

The names of the Princes who afterwards succeed to the throne, are distinguished by small capitals.

1. VELIKII KNIAZ RURIK, called in from the Varags, began to reign in 862, and reigned seventeen years.

It is thought that he had several wives; but the name of not one of them is known.

He had a son named IGOR.

2. VEL. KN. OLEG SRODNIK RURIKOF, the grand prince Oleg, kinsman of Rurik, took upon him the administration in 879, and preserved it thirty-four years.

3. VELIKII KNIAZ IGOR RURIKOVITCH, began to reign in 913, lived sixty-eight years and reigned thirty-two.

He is supposed to have had several wives: but only OLGA is known.

His son was SVIATOSLAF.

4. VEL. KNIAGINA OLGA SVIATAIA SUPRUGA IGOREVA.

Grand princess Olga, a saint, the spouse of Igor, regent in 945, died in 969, aged about fourscore.

5. VELIKII KNIAZ SVIATOSLAF I. Igorievitch, [holy glory] or, Svetoslav [light of glory]. Nothing is known either of the year of his birth or of the commencement of his reign. He died in 973.

Of his wives and concubines only a greek nun is known whom he took prisoner, whom he afterwards gave to Yaropolk, his eldest son, from whom she devolved on Vladimir, the youngest of his sons; and Malukha, a waiting woman of his mother Olga.

His sons were: YAROPOLK, Oleg, and VLADIMIR: the latter was born of Malukha.

6. VEL. KN. YAROPOLK SVIATOSLAVITCH. The year of his birth is not known. His reign lasted nine years, and began in 973.

Of his wives only the greek nun is known who had belonged to his father.

7. VEL. KN. VLADIMIR SVIATOSLAVITCH. The year of his birth is not known. He began in 981 a reign of thirty-five years.

He had a great number of concubines and six wives:

1. A princess of Bohemia.
2. Rogneda, surnamed afterwards Gorislava, daughter of Rogvolode, prince of Polotzk.
3. The greek nun who had been possessed by Sviatoslav and Yaropolk.
4. A second princess of Bohemia.
5. A bulgarian princess.
6. Anna, daughter of Romanus, emperor of Constantinople.

His sons were: 1. Vyacheslav, by the first princess of Bohemia. 2. Isiaslav. 3. YAROSLAF. 4. Vsevolode, by Rogneda. 5. SVIATOPOLK, by the greek nun. 6. Sviatoslav. 7. Mstislav, by the second princess of Bohemia. 8. Boris. 9. Gleb: both by the bulgarian princess. 10. Stanislav. 11. Pozvizo. 12. Sudislav. The three last by different concubines.

His

His daughters were: 1. Predslava, born of Rogneda. She was married to Boleslas the Valiant, king of Poland. 2. Maria, born of the princess Anna, and married to Kasimir I. king of Poland. She was surnamed in Poland, Dobrognieva.

Posterity of Maria.

As Boleslas had several wives, the posterity of Predslava is not known.

Maria, wife of Kasimir, had Boleslas the Bold, and Vladislav I. of whom sprung Boleslas III. surnamed Kri-voousti, Przemislav, Vladislav Lestek, and Kasimir the Great, all kings of Poland, and Lewis the Great, king of Hungary and of Bohemia.

From this princess likewise descended Sviatava, wife of Bratislav II. king of Bohemia: Hedvig or Helena, wife of Vladislav Lestek, king of Poland: Rixa wife of Venceslas IV. king of Bohemia, who, by her, was at the same time king of Poland: Elizabeth, wife of Charles Robert, king of Hungary: Maria, wife of Lewis the Great, also king of Hungary: lastly, Maria, heiress of the crown of Hungary, and wife of Sigismund, emperor, and king of Hungary and of Bohemia.

8. VEL. KN. SVIATOPOLK SOMNITELNII SYN VLADIMIROF ILI YAROPOLKOF. Gr. prince Sviatopolk, spurious son of Vladimir or of Yaropolk. He began to reign in 1015, and died three years after. The year of his birth is not known.

He married the daughter of Boleslas the Valiant, king of Poland.

9. VELIKI KNIÁZ YAROSLAV VLADIMIROVITCH, began to reign in 1019, and died in 1054, after a reign of thirty-five years, and a life of seventy-six.

He

He married Inguerherde, daughter of Oläus I. king of Sweden.

His sons were: Vladimir, ISIASLAF, SVIATOSLAF, VSEVOLODE, Igor and Viatcheslaf.

His daughters were: 1. Elizabeth, married to Harald, king of Norway and Sweden. 2. Anna, named in France Agnes, wife of Henry I. king of France. 3. Anastasia, married to Andrew I. king of Hungary.

Posterity of Anna.

Henry I. had by Anne or Agnes, his wife, three sons: Philip, Hugh, and Robert. Philip succeeded his father, and is the parent-stock of twenty-nine kings, to Louis XVI. From Anne are sprung the two houses of Anjou who reigned at Naples. It is from this russian princess that the present kings of Naples and Spain are descended. She is an ancestor of that Peter de Courtenay, who was an emperor of Constantinople after the capture of that city by the Latins at the time of the Crusades. From her posterity issued several queens of England: Margaret wife of Edward I. Isabella married to Edward II. another Isabella, wife of Richard II. Catharine queen of Henry V. and Mary queen of Charles I. In Scotland; Magdalene, wife of James V. Isabella, wife of Philip IV. king of Spain; Beatrix, wife of John, king of Bohemia, and Charlotte, wife of John II. king of Cyprus. In short, solely by this princess Anne, the sovereigns of Russia, descendants of Rurik, were related to almost all the crowned heads of Europe. After the death of Philip I. his widow married Rodolphus, count of Crespy and of Valois.

10. VEL. KNIAZ ISIASLAF YAROSLAVITCH, began to reign, for the first time, in 1054, was expelled and restored, and died in 1078, at the age of fifty-three.

He

He married the daughter of Miecislav II. king of Poland.
Had sons, Mstislav, SVIATOPOLK, Yaropolk.

11. VEL. KN. SVIATOSLAV YAROSLAVITCH, began to reign in 1073, on the expulsion of his brother Isiaslav; and died in 1076, at the age of forty-nine.

His wife's name was Oda, who is thought to have been a German princess, sister of an archbishop named Bouchard.

Had sons: Oleg, Yaroslav, Boris, Gleb, Romane, and David.

12. VELIKII KNIAZ VSEVOLOD YAROSLAVITCH, commenced in 1078 a reign of fifteen years. He lived sixty-four.

His wives were: 1. A grecian princess, daughter of Constantine Monomachus, emperor of Constantinople.

2. Anna.

By the former he had, VLADIMIR MONOMACHUS; and by the second, Rostislav.

His daughters were: 1. Euphraxia, married to Otho I. Margrave of Brandenburg, and after the death of Otho, to the emperor Henry IV. She returned to Russia, and took the veil. 2. Catharine. 3. Anastasia, second wife of Boleslas IV. duke of Poland.

13. VEL. KN. IGOR BRAT VSEVOLODOF, son of Yaroslav Vladimirovitch.

14. SVIATOPOLK MIKHAIL ISIASLAVITCH. The year of his birth is not known. He began to reign in 1093 and died in 1113, after a reign of twenty years.

He married a daughter of Tugor, khan of the Polovtzes, who received at her baptism the name of Helena.

He had sons, Mstislav, Yaroslavetz, and Vriatcheslav.

His daughter Sbyslava, was the first consort of Boleslas III. Krivoousti, king of Poland.

15. VEL. KN. VLADIMIR VSEVOLODOVITCH MONOMACH, succeeded Sviatopolk in 1114, after a short interregnum. He reigned eleven years, and lived seventy-two.

His wives were: 1. Christina, daughter of Ingor IV. king of Poland. 2. Euphemia.

He had sons: Mstislaf, Isaslaf, Sviatoslaf, Yaropolk, Viatcheslaf, Romane, Yury, and Andrey.

His daughter Marina died in a convent.

THE END OF THE FIRST PLATE.



Drawn & Engraved by J. Chapman from a Series of Medals in the possession of the Rev^d W^m Tooke.

P L A T E II.

16. VELIKII KNIAZ MISTISLAF VLADIMIROVITCH. The year of his birth is uncertain. He began to reign in 1125, and died in 1132.

He had two wives. Who was the former is not known; the second was daughter of Dmitri Davidovitch, posadnik of Novgorod.

His sons were: Vsevolode, ISIASLAF, Rostislaf, Sviatopolk, Vladimir, Romane.

His daughters were: 1. Sophia, married to Valdemar I. king of Denmark. 2. The name of the second is not known. She was married to Yaroslavetz, prince of Vladimir, and son of Sviatopolk II.

Posterity of Sophia.

From this princess issued Canute VI. and Valdemar II. kings of Denmark: Rixa, wife of Eric X. king of Sweden: Ingeburga, wife of Philip II. king of France.

17. VELIKII KNIAZ YAROPOLK BRAT MISTISLAVOF. Yaropolk brother of Mistislaf. The date of his birth not known. He began in 1132 a reign of 6 years.

He married a princess named Helena, whose posterity is not known.

18. VEL. KN. VIATCHESLAF VLADIMIROVITCH. The year of his birth unknown; he reigned some days in 1138, was expelled, and reigned afresh with Isiaslaf Mistislavitch, and afterwards with Rostislaf: died in 1154.

Nothing is known of his marriage: he appears to have had no offspring.

19. VEL. KNIAZ VSEVOLODE OLGOVITCH VNUKE SVIATOSLAVA YAROSLAVITCH. Vsevolode, son of Oleg, grandson

grandson of Sviatoslaf. The year of his birth unknown. He began in 1138 a reign of 8 years, and died in 1146.

Who was his wife is uncertain. He had a son named Sviatoslaf.

20. VELIKII KNIAZ ISIASLAF MSTITSLAVITCH; born in 1096; began to reign in 1146, was expelled; restored; and died in 1154 at the age of 58.

The names of his two wives are not known.

He had by the former a son named Sviatoslaf.

He had also a daughter who was married to Rigvald, prince of Polotsk.

21. VEL. KN. YURIA VLADIMIROVITCH DOLGOROUKII, born in 1091, reigned for the first time in 1149, dethroned in 1150, restored in 1154, and died in 1157, aged 66.

Married first the daughter of Aëpa, prince of the Polovtzes. 2. Olga, who became a nun under the name of Euphrosyne.

His sons were: Rostislaf, ANDREY, Ivan, Boris, Gleb, Mstislaf, Vassilly, Yaroslaf, Mikhaïla, SVIATOSLAF, and VSEVOLODE.

22. VEL. KN. ANDREI YURITCH BOGOLIUBE, beloved of God, began to reign in 1158, was murdered in 1175, after reigning 17 years.

Neither his wife nor his progeny are known.

23. VEL. KNIAZ VSEVOLODE YURIEVITCH, born in 1149, reigned in 1175, was expelled; restored in 1177; died in 1212, at the age of 63.

He had two wives: 1. Mary princess of Bohemia, who took the veil under the name of Marpha. 2. Anne, daughter of Vassilly prince of Vitepsk.

His sons were CONSTANTINE, Boris, YURY, YAROSLAF, Vladimir, SVIATOSLAF, and Ivan.

His

His daughters: 1. Vsevlava, married to Rostislaf Yaroslavitch, prince of Chernigof. 2. Verkhoslava, married to Rostislaf Rurikovitch, prince of Bielgorod.

24. VEL. KN. KONSTANTINE VSEVOLODOVITCH, began to reign in 1216, and died in 1218 at the age of 32.

His wives were: 1. Agaphia, princess of Smolenk. 2. a sister of the princes of Murom.

His sons: Vassilly, Vsevolode, and Vladimir.

25. VELIKII KNIAZ YURIE VSEVOLODOVITCH, born in 1188, began to reign in 1212, dethroned in 1217, restored in 1218, killed 1237 by the Tartars, at the age of 49.

His wife was daughter of Vsevolode, prince of Kief: she was burnt in a church at Vladimir by the Tartars.

His sons: Vladimir, Vsevolode, and Mstislaf, were all killed by the Tartars.

He had a daughter, named Pheodora.

26. VEL. KN. YAROSLAF VSEVOLODOVITCH, born in 1189, began to reign in 1238, and died in 1246, aged 57.

He married Pheofia, daughter of the brave Mstislaf Mstislavitch, prince of Novgorod. This princess afterwards entered the convent under the name of Euphrosyne.

His sons were: Pheodore, ALEXANDER, ANDREW, Konstantine, Aphanasy, Daniela, MIKHAILA, YAROSLAF, and VASSILLY.

His daughter was Gremislava, married to Lesko the White, duke of Poland. Of this princess was born Solomonia, wife of Solomon, prince of Hungary, who was for some time king of southern Russia.

27. VEL. KN. ALEXANDER YAROSLAVITCH NEVSKII, born in 1220, began to reign in 1252, and died 1264.

He married a daughter of Vriatcheslaf, prince of Polotsk.

She brought him: Vassilly, DMITRI, Andrew, Daniel whom the generality of historians number among the princes who

who reigned in the principal sovereignty of Russia. This Daniel had four sons: Yury, Alexander, Boris, IVAN, Aphanasy, Feodor.

28. VEL. KN. YAROSLAF YAROSLAVITCH TVERSKII, *i. e.* of Tver, began to reign in 1264, and died 1271.

All that is known of his wife is, that she was called Xenia.

He had a son, MIKHAILA.

He had also a daughter, who became a nun.

29. VELIKII KNIAZ VASILII YAROSLAVITCH, began to reign in 1271, and died in 1276. It is known that his life was short; the exact duration of it is uncertain, Whether he were married or not is unknown.

30. VEL. KN. DIMITRI ALEXANDROVITCH, began to reign in 1276, was expelled in 1293, restored in 1294 and died the same year.

His wife is not known; it only appears that he had a son named Ivan.

THE END OF THE SECOND PLATE.

ERRATA.

Vol. i. p. 226. lines 18, 19. *dele* was transferred to

p. 277. — 11. for *out* read *on*

Vol. ii. p. 171. — 3. for *is* read *and*

185. — 17. for *was* read *being*

— 18. after *character* read *so*

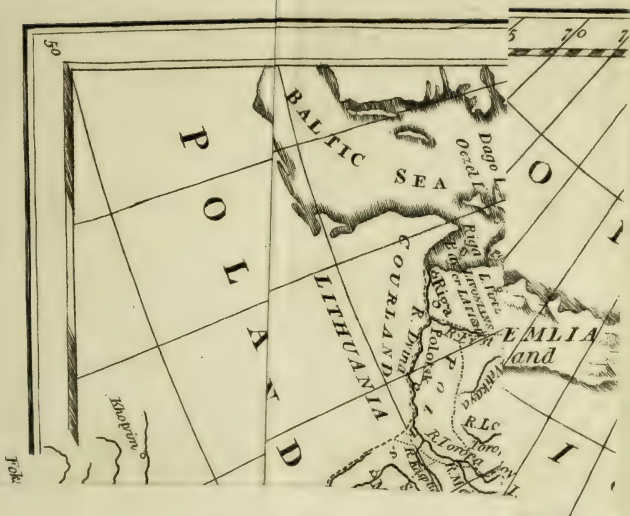
209. — 3. for *should bring* read *should not bring*

217. — 4. *dele* again

272. first line of the note, for *prisoners* read *soldiers*

301. line 4. from the bottom, for *and* read *that*

363. — 7. for *reign* read *period*





INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

*Of the nations formerly inhabiting what is now the
russian empire.*

VARIOUS reasons afford grounds for supposing that the Russians and the Goths, though not perhaps of the same origin, yet having one common place of abode, adopted many things from each other and greatly intermingled. The GOTHs, it is thought, inhabited Russia in times of extremely remote antiquity: this conjecture is supported upon several arguments, and seems confirmed by the circumstance that the Lithuanians to this day give the Russians the name of Guthes. If it be true that the Goths, on being driven by the Scythians or Huns out of Russia, withdrew towards Sweden, it may easily have happened that a part of them remained behind, who, mixing with the Sarmates or Cimbrians, formed the primitive stock of the Russians. Add to this, that the denomination

Russians was confined to the limits of Novgorod, which lay nearest to the Goths, and was known nowhere else to the antients. Some assert the Sarmates and the Goths to be correlative hives, and derive the Russians from the Sarmates: if the former be entitled to credibility, still conjectures alone can be adduced in confutation of the latter. Only thus much is clear, that the Russians, from whomsoever they may have derived their origin, were very much mingled with the sarmatian stems. If the Goths have any thing in common with the Sarmates, they must have it also with the Russians, if not by the same origin, yet by their long cohabitation and intermixture.

The HUNS, however, have nothing in common either with the Russians or with any other northern or european people. The mother country of the Huns is the prodigious steppe which stretches between China and Siberia. Their true name is affirmed to be Hiong-nu. In antient times they had many violent wars with the Chinese; but at length, quarrels breaking out among themselves, they split into two parties: one whereof remained on their settlement to the south, and the other retired farther to the north. The southern Huns at first submitted to the Chinese, but at the commencement of the third century they rose in rebellion and ravaged the

the

the whole empire. The northern, soon after their separation from the others, that is, in the first century, were totally routed by the Chinese in the confines of the Irtysh. Being unable to make any farther resistance, they roamed about the steppe that lies on this side the lake Saïsan, and after having united with some of the wandering tribes of those parts, they spread themselves as far the Emba, and in process of time even to the Yaik and the Volga. Their posterity exists still in Siberia in various regions and under different names, as Tschulimskoi-tartars, Barabintzes, Katschintzes, Buræts, Yakutes, Tunguses, &c. of whom some have mingled more and others less with the Tartars, and partly also with other nations: they have retained however still more of their peculiarities, as is sufficiently proved by their physiognomy, their language, their customs, and manner of life.

Some time afterwards they crossed the Volga, and occupied the entire steppe which extends from that river to the sea of Azof. Some of the nations whom they met on their migrations they drove away, others they compelled to pay tribute, and with others they united. At the end of the fourth century they transported themselves over the sea of Azof, penetrated quite up to the Danube, and there established their seat.

Having crossed the Danube, with all their subjected hives, they pushed forward into Illyria, Mœsia, Pannonia, and Germany, desolating the country and subjugating the nations. At length they came to Gaul; but here, about the middle of the fifth century, they were entirely defeated by Ætius, assisted by Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, and driven back to Pannonia. Soon after the death of the famous Attila, the Huns divided, and were no longer able to keep in subjection the nations they had subdued. They retired back to the Danube, settled among the tribes who were formerly their allies, became tributary to them, and by completely intermingling with them, their name and the glory of their exploits were extinguished together.

We see then that the Huns were very remote from the Russians in regard to their primitive country, but not less are they distinguished by nature in respect to their bodily structure. The Huns, besides the tawney colour of their skin, the characteristic distinction between the inhabitants of the hot and the northern climates, had not in the whole frame of their body the least similarity with the sarmatian, gothic, scythian, flavonian, german, and other european races. Their stunted growth and large head, their broad
shoulders,

shoulders, their prominent ears, black and crisp hair, their short neck, broad and thick visage, the flat nose and their narrow eyelids distinguish them from all the races of mankind. If we can believe that the Hottentots, Negroes, and Albinos are sprung from one stem, we may also admit that the Kalmuks are of like origin with the Russians. In short, the Hun can no more be related in any one particular with the Russian, than the Hottentot with the Albinos, or the beardless American with the bearded inhabitant of the old world.

The Sarmates, the Goths, the Scythians, the Slavonians, and Germans existed till the arrival of the Huns in Europe, and still continue known after their dispersion. That the Huns dwelt on the shores of the Dniepr in the territory of Kief no mention is made in history; and it is even very doubtful whether they ever traversed those countries. In remote periods the Sarmates resided here; and long before their subjugation by the Slaves, they built the town of Kief, and named it from the situation of the place; for kivi in the sarmatian language signifies a mountain. Even the people, who inhabited the mountainous shore of the Dniepr, were called Kivi. After the subjection of the Sarmates the Slaves settled among them, and gave

to those who inhabited the mountainous shore of the Dniepr the name of Goranes, which is of equal import with the farmatian Kivi; those who inhabited the plain they called Polanes. The Slaves were always wont to transfer the foreign proper names into their own language; and in this they were long imitated by the Russians: whereof numberless examples are found in the annals.

The Huns, as has been already observed, wandered about the steppes, which extend to the Caspian and thence directly to the sea of Azof, and on this they moved along the shores of the Euxine as far as the Danube. As they never removed far from the Euxine and the Caspian, and never made their encampment above the rivers Volga, Don, and Dniepr; the nations, who were in possession of this tract of country, were safe from their contentions, and therefore their names are not mentioned in the Russian annals. The Avars had traversed these parts some time before them, and the tradition of their expedition was preserved to the time of Nestor: he calls them the Great Ugres, to discriminate them from the Ugres who marched through some hundred years later. Had the Huns in their migrations touched upon the Russian borders, Nestor must the sooner have
been

been informed of them, as their coming was posterior to that of the Ugres. Or does he speak of the Huns under the name of Obrians? This, indeed, seems to agree with the facts he relates of them. But, be that as it may, it is very doubtful whether the Huns ever dwelt on the shores of the Dniepr in the territory of Kief, and still more, whether they were the first founders of that city; since, as is well known, they were a roaming nation, and had never any permanent dwelling. Their posterity retain to this day the custom of their fathers, of living in kibitkies. We do not find that the Huns or Kalmuks anywhere constructed towns without having first mingled with other tribes. The sarmatian, gothic, and flavonian nations had already at that time stationary dwellings; and after they had settled in other regions, they adhered pertinaciously to this custom. The descent of the Russians from the Huns has therefore been adopted by some writers entirely without foundation.

The southern parts of Russia are still inhabited by numerous races of hunnish, scythian, and sarmatian pedigree. These tribes, dispersed over a great tract of the empire, and originating from the same stock, have neither the Huns nor the Ugres for their ancestors, but the Sarmates.

The names of them, as they appear for a long succession of ages, in the annals, are the following :

The AVARES. A sarmatian word, implying far distant. The name was bestowed on them by their correlative stems the Madshares and Komanes, from their dwelling farther to the east than any of the sarmatian stocks. At this very day there exists an avarian nation in Daghestan, in the district of Derbent and Kubet ; and though by their cohabitation for several centuries with various nations, they have adopted their language and the mohammedan religion, yet they have hitherto retained some sarmatian words, sufficient to prove their ancient origin. They marched in the fourth century to Pannonia, dispossessed the Slaves, and established themselves there with those that remained behind. Nestor calls them the Great Ugres ; and though he neglects accurately to state the time of their entering Pannonia, yet he asserts that it happened long before the expedition of the Mashares and Komanes, whom he names simply Ugres. — From these words of Nestor arise the following conclusions : 1. He reckons the Avars to be originally related to the Mashares and Komanes, by his denominating the former the Great Ugres, and the latter merely Ugres :
2. He

2. He gives to understand, that the former were much more numerous than the latter. When the Avares migrated to Pannonia, they retained their former appellation; but on the arrival of the Mashares and Komanes they collectively assumed the name Mashares. Their kings wrote themselves in their title, masharian and komanian kings; and at their coronation they displayed the banner of the komanian kingdom. They still call themselves Mashares; the appellation Ugres, given them by the Slaves, was altered by the Poles into Vengrians, by substituting, according to their dialect, Ven for the letter U. The Latins, in their usual manner, prefixed the letter H and called them Hungarians. In process of time, by the similarity of the names, the Hungarians were confounded with the Huns, a people whereof no trace was any longer to be discerned in Europe. This similarity in denominations has led writers into a great number of mistakes, by inducing them to confound different stems with one main stock: for example, the Goths with the Getes, the Roxolani with the Russians, the Kossoges with the Kozaks, the Yugdores or Yugrians with the Ugres, the Torkes with the Turks, &c.

The ARIANS. By the Russians they are called Votiaks, from the river Votiak, on which
6 they

they formerly had their seat. They term themselves still Ari, and their territory Arima. Their chief town is Chlueof, and the other towns are Slobodskoi, Kaigorod, and Orlof. At first they were subject to the Bulgarians, afterwards to the Tartars, and from the language of these latter they adopted many words into their own.

The BOLGARIANS, or more properly Bilirians. The former are Slavonians, who obtained their name from their capital Borgard, and among whom they likewise appeared at their settling beyond the Danube. The Bilirians are Sarmates, who settled on their present seats, and now exist under the name of Tschuvasches. The original Bulgarians are called by the old writers Agripei. The ruins of large towns and stone buildings are proofs of their opulence, their civilization and industry, and the coins that are dug out of the earth, with arabic and indian inscriptions, of their extensive commerce. Their capital, Borgard, lay 30 versts below the mouth of the Kama, and 5 from the Volga; according to other accounts the Volga there flowed by the town. Borgard was first ravaged by the Tartars in 1234, and afterwards in 1500 entirely destroyed by the Russians.

VARAGIANS, and Varago-Russians. The former are Finns; and the latter, Finns mingled with

with Russians. They had their peculiar kings, and their capital was called Abo. Till the time of Rurik finnish kings reigned over the Russians; and after the conquest of Borivoi, the father of Gostomuisl, they imposed a tribute on the Slavonians.

VESSES. They dwelt on the White-sea. This name comes from the word *via-su*, white water.

VOTES. On the Isthora and the Neva. The territory was called Isthora; and from a tribe that dwelt between the Volkhof and the Neva, they were named Votes; that is, of this or of that place. Hence comes the denomination *votkische pætina*, (a bundle of yarn of 5 *pafinen*,) which is still common in Novgorod.

VATITSCHES. On the rivers Oka, Shifdra, and Ugra.

YEMIANS. On the Ladoga-lake, quite to the White-sea. This territory is known to foreigners under the name of Biarmia.

SCHMUDIANS. Schmude is called by foreigners Samogitia, and is accounted part of Kuronia or Kurland.

SIMEGOLIANS. The Simegolians, Semigalians and Kures inhabited Kurland: the river Memel separated Russia, Lithuania and Kuronia from Prussia.

KOMANES.

KOMANES. They were neighbours of the Madshares or Ugres, and migrated in conjunction with them at the close of the eighth century to Pannonia. They dwelt upon the river Kuma, from which they also had their name. On the other side of the Terek is still a people named Kumuiks; perhaps remains of the old Kumanians.

KORELIANS. With foreigners they are all comprehended under the general name Biarmians. The territory anterior to Rurik belonged to Russia, and Gostomisl's father Borivoi reigned there. The principal cities are Kexholm and Vyborg.

KORSES. In common with the Semigallians in Kurland.

KOSSOGES. A nation dwelling mostly in the district east of the sea of Azof, and were collateral branches of the Yasses and Kozares; a part of them had also their abode on the Dniepr and on the Danube. Rededa, prince of the Kossoges, being killed in a duel in the year 1022 by Mstislaf, prince of Tmutarakan, he took possession of this whole district in virtue of a treaty concluded between them. From that time the Kossoges were under the Russian protection; and the annals mention them for the last time at the incursion of the Tartars.

KRIVITSCHES.

KRIVITSCHES. A farmatian people, who dwelt in Smolensk, and mingled afterwards with the Slaves. They lived between the rivers Pripet and Dvina; afterwards spread farther up the Volga, Dvina, Oka, and Dniepr, and thence got from their relational hives the name of Krivitsches; i. e. people dwelling above: krivi in the farmatian language meaning the upper part. In their neighbourhood dwelt other farmatian descendants, as the Tschudes, Meres, Murones, &c. They were afterwards subject to the russian princes, and paid them a tribute; retaining still, however, their own princes.

KURES. With the Simegoles and Semigallians inhabited Kurland.

LIEVEN, or Lieben. In the modern Liefland or Livonia. The norwegian, swedish, danish, and german writers called the whole coast of the Baltic Ostrogard; that is, the territory lying to the east. The Russians antiently termed this nation Tschudes; but, since the reign of Ivan Vassillievitch they have borne the name of Lieflanders or Livonians, and the name Tschude is preserved only among the common people.

LOPE, Lappes. Lope is called by foreigners Lapland. A part of it was denominated Mauremani, and by the Russians, Maurmanskoï Lop; i. e. Lop bordering on the sea. In this territory stood

flood the Ostrog Koliskoi. The similitude between some words in their language and those of the dialects descended from the Sarmatian, has led some to imagine them to be a Sarmatian race. But the Laplanders are distinguished from the Sarmates as from the Huns, by their bodily structure as well as from their speech, in which are not more Sarmatian words than Tartarian in the Russians. However, they might easily have adopted several, living as they did a long time in the vicinity of the Sarmatian stems, and their own language being extremely poor. As they received of the Sarmates new ideas of things they were unacquainted with before, it was very natural for them to adopt words for them from their language. But if their language had an actual resemblance with the Sarmatian, yet their primitive affinity would not therefore be proved.

LITHUANIANS. Their territory is well known. The name comes from the word *Lit-alane*; i. e. little people; they were afterwards called *Litvanes*. Their language shews their commixture with the Slaves.

MAGIARES. The Magiares, Madshares; or Mashares, and, by the Slaves, Ugres, were dispossessed towards the end of the eighth century by the Petschenegans: upon this, they went in a body with the Komanes, their neighbours, to
• Pannonia,

Pannonia, united themselves with the Avars their relations by pedigree, and established the ungarian or vengrian kingdom.

MERES. They call themselves Mori; with the Russians they go under the name of Mordva; but Carpin and Rubruquis term them Mordasses or Mordvasses. Prior to the incursion of the Tartars they dwelt in the region of Rostof, Halith, Kostroma, at the mouth of the Oka, beyond it near Arfamas and Schatzk. Afterwards they all withdrew beyond the Oka to the latter place. At length the greater part of them wandered in the provinces Viatka and Ufim, and intermixed with the Tschuvashes and Tscheremisses.

MESCHTSCHORES. They dwelt in the territory of the towns Elatma, Kodom, Schatzk, Yeletz, Temnikof, Lomof, Koslof, and Tambof.

MUROMES. In the district of Murom and Kasimof: they are now all Russians.

PETSCHORES. On the river Petschora towards the Frozen-ocean. They are now called Samoyedes.

PRUSSIANS were originally Sarmates.

TORKES. They are called likewise Torpei, Porasænes, and Berendei. Their descent is not known; some deriving them from the Slaves, others from the Sarmates. I rather agree with the latter. Their homesteads were on the river
Rosa,

Rosa, and their capital was called Tortfchesk, having another chief town Belaia Tzerkof, i. e. White-church. The likeness between the names has misled some to take them for Turks. In hungarian Torok means a devourer, greedy.

UGRES. The Slaves conferred on them this name on account of the situation of their dwelling place: they called themselves Madshares and Komanes. Ugoria in the slavonian implies a district of country lying at the foot of a mountain. They dwelt in the proximity of the caucasean mountains: wherefore they ought rather to have been termed Ugores, and their country Ugoria. They were afterwards by abbreviation called Ugres; and the Tartars make of it Oigur. In the districts where they reside are still seen ruins of ancient towns. On the right side of the Kuma is a town named Madshary, where several edifices are still subsisting. Another town, Tartuh, situate on the Terek, has walls now standing, with a lofty round tower, and several ruins of stone buildings. On the Sulak lies a desolate stone-built town, the name whereof is not known; the walls are very high and thick, constructed of hewn stone. The don Kozaks, who came out of Astrakhan in the time of Stenko Rasin, settled there and denominated it Andréef after the name of their ataman
Andrèy

Andrèy Schadro. On the mountains are found in many parts ruins of towns.

TSCHALMATES. They dwelt on the Kama, which by them was called Tschalmat, and by the Tartars Tschalman-Idel. They, like the Kofares, were mingled with tartarian stems.

TSCHUDES. In Livonia and Esthonia. This word in the farmatian signifies an acquaintance or neighbour.

YUGDORES, or Yugrians. On the river Yuga, a great and powerful nation; their dominion extending as far as Halitsch, having their own kings; and their towns were called Ustiug, Kevrol, Mefen, and Unsha.

YASSES. In the region of the modern Azof: they probably possessed even the city formerly called Tanais, and gave it its present name. The sea of Azof, the Palus Mœotis of the ancients, had hence, perhaps, its denomination. The practice of naming towns, rivers, and even seas from the people who ruled over them, still subsists. Thus, the city Murom got its name from the people Muroma, who built it; the Caspian sea, the name of the Khvalinskian, from the Khvalisses who inhabited its coasts.

YATVEGES. Otherwise Yatveshes and Yatziges. They dwelt in Poland on the Bogue, and in the district of Brest.

Of all these tribes descended from the Sarmates remains still live in Russia, namely :

The **BASCHKIRS**. After the adoption of the mohammedan doctrine they mixed their language with the tartarian. They are the remains of the old Tschalmates. The Tartars call them *Baschkurt*, i. e. chief wolf, from their propensity to robbing and plundering.

The **VOGULITSCHES**, or *Vogules*. They call themselves *Mantschi*; inhabit the uralian mountains along the rivers *Tura*, *Tagil*, *Neiva*, *Lassa*, *Lofva*, *Kofva*, and *Tavda*. The towns of this territory are : *Verkhoturia*, *Pelym*, *Turinsk*, and *Ekatarinenburg*.

The **VOTIAKS**. See before, the *Arians*.

The **SYRYANES**. On the river *Vytschegda*. Formerly they were comprised under the name *Permians*. The town first built by them was called *Bym*, at present *Ustvymskoi-monastyr* : the others are *Vytschegda* and *Yarensk*. After their baptism by *Stephen Permskoi*, they gave up their language and became *Russians* : only towards the north some of them retained their heathenism and their former language.

The **KORELIANS**. Comprised by foreigners under the general name *Biarmians*.

The **KONDIANS**, or *Kondores*. On the river *Konda*, which falls into the *Irtysh*. This nation
formerly

formerly extended upwards along the Irtysh and the Tobol, and afterwards was driven farther to the north by the Tartars; but even at the arrival of the Russians their princes were still tolerably powerful, and assisted them against the Tartars.

The **ESTHONIANS**. But little different from the Livonians.

The **LIVONIANS**. By the common people generally called Tschudna.

The **LOPARES**. See before, Lopes, Lappes, or Laplanders.

The **MORDVINES**. Called by themselves Moræ, and formerly by the Russians Meren.

The **OBDORES**. Their habitations extended as far as the gulf of Tazof and the Frozen-ocean. The Kondes, Udores, and Obdores were incorporated into the title of the russian monarchs*, because they had powerful sovereigns.

The **PERMIAKS**. On the rivers Kama, Vifchera, and Tschuffovoi: they name themselves Komi and Sudami. The foreigners called them Biarmians, and the Russians formerly Yemen. The old town Tscherdan stood on the Vifchera, and was called the great and antient Permia. Stephen converted them to the christian faith; gave them a peculiar alphabet, and translated several books into their language: all this is

* View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii. p. 385.

come to nothing by the laziness and negligence of the priests.

The SAMOYEDES. They dwell farther than the Syryanes towards the Frozen-ocean, and from the Dvina quite to the uralian mountains. They call themselves Samo and Samogitians, live in forests, have no houses, and wander towards the west to Lapland, and eastwards as far as the river Lena. The Russians gave them antiently the name Petschores. The principal town built here by the Russians is Pustosersk. It is still very doubtful whether the Samoyedes be of scythian descent, though there is some resemblance in their speech.

The UDORES. In the province of Tomsk; the towns there are: Tomsk, Kusnetz, and Kolhyvanskoi-zavode.

The TSCHEREMISSES. They call themselves Mori: their dwelling places are along the mountainous side of the Volga from the river Sura to the mouth of the Sviæga, where are the towns Sviæhsk, Tscheboksar, Zuvinsk, and Kusmode-mansk, and along the meadow-side of the river Vetluga to Kokschaga, where are the towns Kokschaïsk, Santschursk, and Eransk. The name Tschheremisses (easterns) they obtained from the situation of their dwelling.

The TSCHUVASCHES. These are the antient Bilirians. They have mingled their language with

with the tartarian ; and many of them, who would not allow themselves to be baptised, went over to the Bafchkirs, and there settled.

The FINNS. The Finns were antiently comprehended under the names Varages and Varago-Ruffians. They call themselves Suomalain, i. e. a nation dwelling in fens and on the borders of rivers : for *fun* in their language signifies water, and *maa* land. The finnish nation has always been more sensible than the esthonian, and their condition was likewise better and happier. Their language is more copious than that of the other sarmatian stems, as a number of books have been translated into it. For this they are indebted to Christina queen of Sweden. But the Esthonians were kept in the greatest ignorance and slavery by the teutonic knights ; and the priests put every means in practice for excluding all kinds of knowledge from them.

However, the descent of all the tribes here named from the Sarmates does not include the origin of the Ruffians. Nestor enumerates all the nations descended from the Sarmates, who had no lineal affinity with the Ruffians, when he says : “ But these are different nations, who
 “ pay tribute to Russia : Tschud, Ves, Mera,
 “ Muroma, Tschermisse, Yam, Mordva, Pet-
 “ schera, Litva, Simegola, Kors, Neroma, Liv ;
 “ these are nations who have their own lan-

“ guage, are of Japhet’s race, and dwell in
“ the northern regions.” Accordingly, I cannot pretend to decide from whom the Russians are properly sprung, though from some circumstances I am led to conjecture that the Cimbrians were the patriarchs of their race. Only thus much is clear, that in the sequel they so greatly mingled with the Sarmatian and Gothic stems, that they may in some measure be regarded as their relational descendants. At length, by their conjunction and commixture with the Slaves, they were so far separated from all the rest, that at present their prime origin is veiled in impenetrable obscurity.

The UGRES, under the names of Magiars, or Madshars, and Kumanians, inhabited the southern regions of the present Russian empire, and lived a long time together with those Sarmatian stems, whom Ptolemy calls Konopleni, Sabatschi, Sinchi, Materi, Agariti, Pogariti, &c. They intermixed with them, and were now denoted by the neighbouring Slaves under the general name of Ugorians or Ugrians. Oppressed by the Petschenegans, or the Polovtzi, they went to their kindred race in Pannonia, the Avars, who had settled there 400 years earlier. This migration of the Ugres happened in the former half of the eighth century. Dilich, in his history of Hungary, under the year 744, relates that

that they pushed their way through the territory of the Roxotanes, the Sarmates, and other tribes, into Pannonia, without drawing a sword. In this Nestor agrees with him, who says, that they passed amicably through the countries of these people, as they were their kindred races or allies. Alberik, in his chronicle, under the year 893, says: " In these days an ungarian " nation, that came from Scythia under the " prince Alina, and were driven out by the " Petzenakes, subjugated the Avares, and settled " in Pannonia." Speaking of their language, Dilich tells us, that it had a resemblance with the bohemian; that is, the flavonian: a proof that they had very much intermingled with the Slaves. On account of this intermixture, and this similarity of language, Nestor took them for collateral branches of the Slaves, or likewise because there were many Slaves among them. On their establishment in Pannonia they mingled with the Avares; and as these were predominant, their language again quitted flavonian and approached nearer to the original, which it has retained to the present time.

The AVARES, connected by pedigree in the vicinity to the Ugres, were dispossessed by the Huns, and migrated in the fourth century to Pannonia. The Huns followed their

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century to
footsteps,
and

and at the close of the same æra went over the sea of Azof, advanced at the end of the fifth century into Pannonia, and quickly after disappeared, so that in the sixth their very name is no longer mentioned. The Avares remained in Pannonia after the dispersion of the Huns, for they had built themselves settlements there, and the Huns were a wandering nation. If even a part of the latter staid behind, it could never be considerable from the difference of their mode of living; the rest mingled with the scythian nomadic stems, whose way of life, manners and customs, were more suited to them. Remnants of the Avares still exist on their ancient dwelling-places.

Some french authors have pretended to adduce the relics of the hunnish language in the hungarian, lapponian, finnish, and other tongues, as a proof that the Russians are descended from the Huns. But the hunnish language, if we may judge from the mongolian and kalmuk, has not the least similarity with the scythian, sarmatian, and slavonian; for in the dialects of the Mongoles, Mandshures, and Kalmuks, we even discover no resemblance whatever with the tartarian, russian, nor with any other derived from the sarmatian language; some few words excepted, which, as near neighbours, they have
recipro.

reciprocally adopted from each other. On the other hand, we find in the dialects of the Hungarians, Finns, Syryanes, Mordvines, Mokschanes, Tschuvasches, Tschheremisses, and other farmatian stems, notwithstanding the great distance of the first from the last, their mutual commixture with other stems, and the most striking difference in their manners and customs, a similarity which cannot even now be mistaken, and places the affinity of their parentage out of doubt. It is clear, that the Huns, Sarmates, and Scythians are three nations entirely distinct from each other: this difference must therefore subsist between their descendants; namely, with the Kalmuks, who derive their origin from the Huns; the Tartars, who come from the Scythians; and the Ugrians, or Ungarians, who are descended from the Sarmates.

Again, it has been observed, that the country of the kievian Russians, having borne the name of Kunigard, (the dominion of the Huns,) it shews that their neighbours held them to be such. From the year-books, however, we find, that by the appellatives Chunigard, Ulmigard, Holmgard, Oltergard, Gardarike, the northern writers mean the russian empire, or rather the extreme boundaries of it to the north; but the Russians themselves, and the greek and latin histo-

historians, were unacquainted with these names : we must therefore look for the origin of the terms in the languages of the northern nations. Adam of Bremen *, and Helmold †, say : “ Russia is called by the Danes Ostrogard, because it lies to the east, and produces all things in abundance. It is likewise called Chunigard, because the Huns first settled there.” The mistake of Adam and the others arises from the similitude of the names, and their not being acquainted with the borders of Russia, and the tribes dwelling there. The capital of Russia was called by its northern neighbours, long before Adam of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century, Chue, Schue, and Chive ; for in the sarmatian language Schue signifies the residence, and thence the whole territory was called Chunigard, for gard denotes, in the old gothic language, a territory. Huni or Chuni was a sarmatian tribe, which dwelt, according to Strikoffsky, in Lithuania ; and Ptolemy also mentions the Chuni in his account of the nations inhabiting the european Sarmatia ‡. Add to this, that Ptolemy lived in the time of

* In his Eccles. History, p. 58.

† Book i. cap. i.

‡ Dict. Geogr. de la Martinière, tom. v. at the article Sarmatie européenne.

Marcus Aurelius in the former half of the second century, and the Huns appeared in Europe at the end of the fourth; therefore 200 years after Ptolemy, and at least as long after the farmatian tribe, Huni was known in Europe. Those who give Russia the name of Greece *, are more easily pardonable in making the Russians lineally related to the Huns.

* Adam of Bremen, concerning the situation of Denmark, says: *Ex Sliafvig naves emitti solent in Slavoniam, vel in Suediam, vel ad Semland et usque ad Græciam*, p. 36. And in his Ecclesiastical history, p. 19. *Nam si per mare ingrederis, ab Sliafvig vel Oldenburg, ut pervenias Juminem ab ipsa urbe vela tendens xliii die ascendes in Ostragard Russiæ, cujus metropolis civitas est Chive, æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani clarissimum decus Græciæ.* And in another place, p. 58. *Afferunt etiam periti locorum a Sueonia terrestri via usque in Græciam permeasse: sed barbaræ gentes, quæ in medio sunt, hoc iter impediunt, propterea navibus tentatur periculum.* In enumerating the islands, he says: *Holmus celeberrimus Daniæ portus et fides statio navium, quæ a barbaris in Græciam dirigi solent, hoc est, in Gardarikiam.* King Erich, in his history of Denmark, p. 264, informs us, that Frotho made war upon Sweden, Hibernia, Norway, Saxony, Hungary, and all the countries lying eastward as far as Greece: what he here means by Greece is by Saxo Grammaticus called Russia. That the northern nations by Greece implied Russia, several instances are cited by Baier in his tract on the northern nations from the writers of those parts. See *Comment. acad. scient. Petropol. tom. x.*

The

The appellative Ulmigard came from a sarmatian people living in Pscoe, called Ulmigores or Ulmigardes, and their territory Ulma. Such instances are frequent, where a whole empire is named after a single territory, a city, or a bordering district. The Bulgarians got their name from their capital Borgard, Siberia from an inconsiderable town built on the Irtysh by the Tartars. The Poles, from Moskva, the capital, gave all Russia the name Moskovia.

Another argument is, that the russian princes were denoted by the name Kagan, which was exactly the title borne by the leaders of those Kofares who descended from the Huns and were the progenitors of the Turks.

But the russian princes never were called Kagans, as these authors pretend, though the Greeks sometimes gave them this appellation, because they confounded the Russians with their neighbours and allies. That they were of the same lineage with the Russians is even very doubtful, and still more doubtful that they descended from the Huns, and the Turks from them.

I am persuaded the Scythians, Huns, and Sarmates are three totally distinct nations. The fabulous derivation of Abulgasi Baatur-khan is absolutely unworthy of notice. Japhet, a son of Noah, says he, settled in the region of the
rivers

rivers Volga and Yaik. He left eight sons, Turk, Rufs, &c. From this Turk the Turks, and from this Rufs the Russians are descended. The great-great-grandson of Turk was called Alan, and he had two sons, Tatar and Mungal; from the former sprung the Tatars, and from the latter the Mungoles. All the old annalists, as well as Abulgasi, have taken care to invent names for their patriarchs that should agree with the proper name of their nation. The novgorodian annalist conceived the prince Slaven, after whose name the people who came with him should be called. The Poles imagined a certain Lech; thence the Lechians: among the Scythians there was a Scyth; among the Tschereches a Tschetch; and with the people of Mosco a Mossloch. However, it is more than probable, that the Turks, and all the tartarian hives who dwell southwards of the Caspian between India, China, Persia, and Russia, as well as the Bukharians, Taschkentzes, Karakartzes, Tschegodaitzes, Truchmenians, Kirghises, Chivintzes, Karakalpaks, Kaschkartzes, &c. together with the Arintzes, Barabintzes, and other siberian tribes, including the krimean and nagayan Tartars, are descended from the Sarmates. But the Huns are the progenitors of the Kalmuks, Mongoles, Siongores, Mandshures, Tunguses, Buræts,

Buræts, Yakutes, and perhaps also are nearly related to the Chinese, Japanese, and others, if we might venture to judge from their outward figure. The Huns, as has been before observed, traversed a large tract of country inhabited by scythian and sarmatian stems, and had already in part mingled with them at their arrival in Europe: however, the descriptions which have been handed down to us by the writers of those times of their physiognomy and bodily structure are strictly suitable with the present Kalmuks. After their dispersion the Huns intermingled with the innumerable scythian stems, which roam in the steppes between the Euxine, the Palus Mæotis, and the Caspian, and still farther beyond the districts of the Aral. From this mixture proceeds the likeness between the tartarian races and the Kalmuks. But the Kaschkartzes, the Buræts, Tunguses, and Yakutes, who dwell beyond the lake Aral, bear the most striking resemblance with the latter.

Their posterity, intermingled with the scythian stems, have existed a long time within the confines of the present russian empire, and they are frequently mentioned in the russian history under the names of Petschenegans and Polovtzes. The foreigners called them Patzinakians, the Tartars Karakiptschaks, and the Hungarians Chuneres,

Chuneres, which last appellative comes nearest to their own. They drove out the Ugres, in the middle of the eighth century, from their settlements, and obliged them to retire to their relative stems, the Avars in Hungary. Upon this they encamped along the Don, the Donetz, and the Dniepr, and marched with their herds and flocks from one place to another. They likewise made frequent incursions into Bulgaria, and the countries of Greece, and assisted the Greeks against the Bulgarians. They ravaged Russia for several successive centuries, and the separated princes, who were continually engaged in contests with one another, called them to their assistance, and alternately ravaged their territory. At length they were totally exterminated in the thirteenth century, and the name of the Polovtzes was sunk in oblivion.

That the Turks are of like origin with the Tartars is not to be doubted. The ancestors of the Turks dwelt of yore between the Caspian and the lake Aral. After their first expulsion by the Massagetes, who had their seat on the aralian lake and the river Ama, they withdrew to the Volga; they were afterwards forced by the Issedones towards the Don, where, on the subjugation of the Kimmerians, they crossed the mountains and settled in the region of Grusinia,

Turko.

Turkomania, and Diarbek. About the middle of the ninth century they over-ran Armenia, and were now neighbours of the Saracens, who at that time were in possession of the greater part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They at first made war upon the Saracens, but soon concluded a peace and united with them: they adopted their faith and the general appellation of Musulmans*.

The lineage of the Kofares cannot be accurately ascertained. According to the opinion of some polish writers, with whom Tatishchtschef agrees, they are of like filiation with the Slaves,

* Their original remainder, which dwelt in the vicinity of the Caspian, and from the Yaik to the Mongolèy and China, were denoted by the Europeans under the general name of Tartars, and by the Russians under various appellations: they call themselves Tyurks or Turks, and assert that their original home is Turkestan. A report is current among them, that in a period of the remotest antiquity a part of them went over to the Saracens, and in consequence of this conjunction were denominated Saracens and Turks: they call the latter, however, not Turks, but Uryum. "If any one," says Tatishchtschef, "in conversation should use the word Tatar, the Tatars here would not understand him, for they call themselves Tyurks. If one of them should be asked, for instance: Understandest thou the tartarian? he would answer: Turkatscha blemish. A tartarian book is called turki kitabi; and a turkish, "rumi kitabi."

and

and came from Kappadočia and Kolchis at the same time with the Bulgarians. Others, among whom is Baier, hold them to be a turkish progeny, because the names of the towns and countries along the Dniepr, the Bogue, and the Dniestr, where the Kofares dwelt of old, and the title kagan, which was given to their princes, are words derived from the turkish language. This might be suffered to pass for a proof, if it could only be shewn that these denominations do really proceed from them. Even the word kagan might be adopted by them from their neighbours, the lineal relations of the Turks. If it be even true, that the Kofares came out of Kappadocia, and are related by descent to the Slaves, yet it appears from all circumstances, that, as they dwelt for many ages together with the scythian and farmatian stems, they intermingled so much, particularly with the latter, that as much foreign as peculiar was found among them *. But, however this be, thus
much

* The Kofares, or Chofares, dwelt at first at the mouth of the Volga and on the shores of the Caspian; under the name Chvaliffes; hence also the sea itself got the appellation of the chvalinskian. There they intermingled with the scythian and farmatian stems. The Persians called them Chofares, and under this appellative they appeared also

much at least is certain, that the russian princes never bore the name kagan, and the denomination Russia was solely confined to the novgorodian territory.

Lastly, it is asserted, both by Le Clerc and Levesque, in their histories of Russia, that the old russian chronicles style the empire of the Huns Ugoria; and that the place where the princes of Kief were buried was even called the ugorian mountain.

The Russians called the empire of the Mad-schiares, from its situation, Ugoria; for which reason it might well be, that the place where

upon the Dniepr. By the old authors they are called Issidones, and by the Russians Nether-Bulgarians. They, like the Bulgarians, possessed large cities built of stone, the ruins whereof are seen to this day in various places, particularly on the left bank of the Achtuba, and on the borders of the sea itself. They proceeded together with the Bulgarians down the Dniepr and the Danube. One part of them settled on the Dniepr below Kief, and reigned over that whole district till the arrival of Oskold, or Orleg. Sviatoslav I. who demolished all their towns along the Dniepr and the Don, extended his dominion as far as the Danube. Under him, and even afterwards, a great part were transplanted to Russia; others came voluntarily, in order to secure themselves against the Petschenigans. On the incursion of the Tartars into Russia the remainder were taken prisoners or dispersed; and thus their name was lost.

the

the kievian princes were buried might obtain its name. In Mosco a particular part of the city is called Kitai (China); yet surely no one would ever imagine that the Russians were therefore of the same filiation with the Chinese. Nestor produces the reason why this mountain is called the Ugorian: "In the year 6406," says he, "the Ugres passed near Kief over the mountains, which at this day are still called the Ugorian: they came to the Dniepr, and there ranged themselves in order with the kubit-kies." From these words it appears, that this mountain first obtained the name of the Ugorian after the expedition of the Ugres.

To conclude: it is with nations, says M. Levesque, as with families: their origin ascends to the most remote antiquity; but that antiquity imprints on them no mark of nobility, unless the titles are producible. Such is the difference between an empire antiently famous, and a people newly discovered; between a nobleman who preserves with pride the smoky parchments inscribed with the titles of his ancestors, and a villager who scarcely knows the name of his grandfather.

The Russians were formerly a distinct people: but their language, their customs, and ancient historical testimonies prove, that in the sequel they were confounded with the Slaves. These

latter, who are corruptedly called Slavonians, only began to be known in Europe under that appellation in the fourth century: but at this period it doubtless was not a new people; and several branches of that nation had probably long been known to the Greeks and Romans under different names. Perhaps even the ancient Slaves were unacquainted with the denominations by which they were denoted by foreigners; for there are nations to whom their enemies or their neighbours give names neither adopted nor known by themselves. Of this kind is the ancient and numerous race of the Tetches or Teutons, whom we call Germans, and to whom the Russians give the appellation Nemtsi. Of the same kind were the people of Kipschak, whom the Russians called Polovtsi; that is, hunters or robbers. Such are still the Kalmuks and many others. The different branches of the Slaves might likewise distinguish themselves by several names, as is at present the custom with the various branches of Mongoles and Tartars, or as even the inhabitants of our several provinces still continue to distinguish themselves.

It may be conceived, that the term Slaves denoted the whole body of the slavonian people. It is commonly supposed to be derived from the word *slava*, which signifies *glory*. If that be the

the case, the Slaves had borne another name, before they gave themselves one that was founded on the glory of their exploits. Other authors, inferior in point of numbers, think the name of Slaves to be derived from *slovo*, which signifies *word* or *speech*. It is true, that in the most ancient of their authors they are named Slovéné; and it is possible, that the Slaves, who for a long time called foreigners *mutes*, might call themselves *speakers*. They had the arrogance to imagine, that none really spoke, except when they employed their language, and that to be ignorant of it was to be dumb.

However this be, it is certain that the Slaves for a great number of ages bore that name. Like all other nations, they came from the east, and the orientals bear witness to their antiquity. They carry it back, as well as that of the Russians, to Japhet, the third son of Noah. These traditions prove the celebrity enjoyed by the people they concern in the east. According to the tartarian prince Abulgasi Baatur, the historian of his nation, as well as from the authors cited by d'Herbelot, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, the Slaves are descended from Seklab or Saklab, and the Russians from Rufs, both sons of Japhet.

It is probable that the Slaves, on coming from the east, first spread themselves in several countries of Russia : thus the principal of their present habitations was also their first seat in Europe. Perhaps, like many other people come from eastern regions, they began to diffuse themselves along the coasts of the Caspian and the Palus Mæotis. It is pretended, that thence they proceeded to Paphlagonia, they are made to people Media ; it is even imagined that the Trojans were Slaves. The Slaves are especially thought to be found in the Henetes, Venetes, or Venedes, who, being expelled from Paphlagonia by a seditious faction, joined themselves to Agenor, and came, after the downfall of Troy, to take refuge at the extremity of the adriatic gulf. The country where they established themselves took the name of Venetia, whence in later times that of Venice has been formed. It is true, that the name Venedes has great affinity with that of Vendes, still borne by the Slaves of Germany. A city was formerly built by the Slaves, under the name of Veneta, towards the mouth of the Oder. They raised also a city of the same name in the isle of Rugen. This name is taken from a word in their language which signifies a crown. They formerly called a crown
of

of a country *, its extreme limits, the frontier which was the defence of it, and that name was suitable enough to the country occupied by the Venetes on the borders of the adriatic gulf.

These conjectures on the establishments of the Slaves cannot be authenticated by substantial proofs. But whatever be the countries where they anciently spread themselves, it seems certain that they remained in great numbers in Russia, confounded by the antient writers with other people under the name of Scythians, or rather indeed unknown, as the confines of the habitable earth were not yet extended so far. The name of the Borysthenes, at present the Dniepr, seems even to belong to their language. it signifies *a rampart formed by a forest of pines*, being derived from the word *bor*, a forest of pines, and *stena* a wall. It is well known, that the shores of the Borysthenes are covered with vast forests of pines. According to a tradition, for which I cannot vouch, their principal city, situate near the spot where Novgorod has risen since, was called Slavenfk. However it fare with the existence of this city, harrassed, oppressed, expelled by the Ugres, a nation of the race of the Huns come from Siberia, they spread

* Venets zemli.

themselves to the west and to the south, and infested the roman empire: others took their course along the coasts of the Baltic. The posterity of these various emigrants occupy at present Bohemia, Bulgaria, Servia, Dalmatia, a part of Hungary, and is diffused in Germany, through Pomerania, Silesia, and other countries.

However, all the Slaves were not come out of Russia and Poland, or, to speak the language of the ancients, out of Scythia. They still formed there an innumerable population, divided into several tribes, and distinguished by different names. Each individual of the nation was either master or slave. Hence those who were of distinction among them called themselves tribes, slav and slavne, or noblemen; whence again all such as were renowned for great achievements, or even only capable of performing them, were in process of time in like manner called slavne. Under this denomination it was that they became known to the Europeans, who were not till very lately acquainted with the particular tribes of those nations. These tribes had their appellation frequently from some river, town, or region. So the Polabes were named after the Laba or Elbe; the Pomeranians dwelled *po moru*, near the sea; the Havellanians, near the river Havel; the Maroars, or Moravians, or Marahani,

hani, on the banks of the river Morava. The Varnabi had once their residence near the Varnove, and the Polotzani on the banks of the Polota. In the mountains (khrebët) lived the Khrobates. The Tollensians were named after the river Tollenfea in Pomerania citerior, which empties itself into the Peene near Demmin. From Sidin or Sedin, the Stettin of the moderns, one tribe was named Sidinians; another from Britzen (Treunbritzen), Britzanians; from Kuffin, a town subsisting in those early times, the Kissinians took their name, the traces of whom are still to be found in a village near Rostock: and, lastly, the Lutitzians were named after Loitz on the river Peene. But there are also some names of these tribes which are original; as for example, the Sorbs or Serbs, the Tschechs or Bohemians, the Lachs, Lechs, or Polatzes, i. e. the Poles; and from the more modern varagian Rossi, the Russians, about 862, are supposed to have had their name. The storm, which in the train of Attila, from the year 435 to 456, spread terror and devastation over the earth, was but short and transient. In the mean time came the turkish tribes, which till then had dwelled in Great Turkey (i. e. Little Bukharia) and Turkestan, (where is still subsisting on the banks of the Taras the town of Turkestan),

Turkestan,) and established new empires. The empire of the Vlagi, or Volochi, or Vologars, or Bulgarians, is in like manner called Great Bulgaria: it is situated beyond the Volga, on the banks of the Kama, Bielaia, and Samara; the empire of Borka or Ardu of the asconian Turks, extended on this side of the Volga from Uvieck near Saratof quite to Mount Caucasus. One part of these were called Kumani or Komani, from the river Kuma, and their town was named Kumager*. Farther on resided the Madfchiars, Mascharts, Pascatirs, or Baschkirs, a tribe of finnish origin, near the mountains of Usal and the Bielaia. Soon after this came more turkish tribes, the Khazars, the Petshenegs, the Uzians, and the Polovtziars, and even the Bulgarians advanced into the southern part of Russia, and into Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Krimea.

They were called Volinians in Volinia, Lekhs on the banks of the Vistula, Polianes on

* The ruins, which at present go under the name of the ruins of Madfchiar, appear to be rather the remains of this town of Kumager on the banks of the Kuma and Bymara. The word Kumakir signifies in the turkish language the plain of Kuma. In fact there is round this very spot an extensive plain, and by this word Kumager, we must understand the town of the plain of Kuma. Shæhr Kumakir.

those of the Dniepr, Polotshanes on the shores of the Polota which fell into the Dvina, Drevitches, between the Dvina and the Pripet. Those who lived in the forests were called Drevlians; near the lake Ilmen they retained the name of Slaves, and took that of Severians along the Desna and the Sula.

The Slaves of Russia were in the enjoyment of great power, so as to impose tribute on the nations of different languages and origin who inhabited the country from Lithuania, as far as the mountains which form the boundary of Siberia, and from Biel-ozero and the lake of Rostof, as far as the White-sea. But, having been long free and paramount, they became tributary in their turn: for shaking off the yoke of their enemies, they were obliged to give themselves sovereigns, and at that epocha it is that the history of Russia begins.

CHAP. II.

Of the affinity between the language of the Slavi, and that of the ancient inhabitants of Latium.*

IF, from a brief survey of most of the historical proofs and conjectures on which the antiquity of the Slaves is founded, we perceive that their language is of one and the same origin with that of the ancient inhabitants of Latium, or rather that the ancient Latins are indebted to the flavonian tongue for the first elements of their language, we shall be convinced that the antiquity of the Slaves cannot be ascertained, it being so remote as to transcend the bounds of all known antiquity. It may, however, be presumed, that Latium was at first peopled by a sort of half-savages, of the race of these Slaves, still scarcely emerged themselves from the savage state.

Were there nothing in common between the latin and flavonian languages, except some of those expressions in which a barbarous people are deficient, and which they afterwards borrow from some more polished nation, we might be led to imagine that the different flavonian hordes, who contributed to the ruin of the roman

* From M. Levesque.

empire, adopted those expressions during their sojourn in the country they were ravaging. But, on the contrary, the latin words at present employed by the nations who speak the slavonian dialects, to express such ideas as are peculiar to enlightened people, have only been adopted by them in times of no long date; they are never found in their ancient books, but have been obtained by their intercourse with foreign nations, and various alterations are even observed in them which characterise the people from whom they have been received.

Such ancient words as are common to both nations are exactly the greater part of those primitive words which we may expect to find among every people as soon as it begins to form to itself a language. The barbarous nation, having already of its own fund these sort of expressions, only borrows a few from the polished nation, unless it adopts their whole language, as the conquerors of Italy and the Gauls adopted the latin tongue. Accordingly, the languages spoken by the descendants of these conquerors are almost entirely derived from the latin: the very primitive words, as the nouns of number, the names of the most ordinary phenomena of nature are derived from them; and, if some expressions remain of the language of the conquerors,

querors, it is because the two people, who have a frequent communication, always mutually borrow some terms from one another, and because these terms already formed a part of the latinity of the lower empire.

The case is otherwise with the flavonian language, having in its progress no conformity with the latin, and what it has in common with it consisting in the expressions which the Slaves would naturally form about the time when they quitted the savage for embracing the social life. These expressions are proper to the infancy of the language, and would be found from the very time when their inventors, recently united into a body, were obliged reciprocally to communicate their wants.

As the flavonian and the latin languages, from being united in their origin, divide in their progress, it cannot be thought that the Trojans and the Venetes, whom I here suppose to be of flavonian race, first brought the language of the Slaves into Italy, and we must therefore look for an epocha more remote. For, men who must have been so advanced in the social state as the Venetes and the Trojans, would have brought something more than the primary elements of speech; and it would be surprising if the Latins had retained no more than these primary elements,

ments, and had lost all that related to perfected language.

It must be granted that the ancient nations had a remote period, when the primary wants of nature, the first observations which simple and ignorant men are capable of making, gave rise to the beginning of a language among them, which gradually grew up by the accession of new wants, by the progressive acquisition of sensations and perceptions, and by the advancement of general knowledge.

It was at the period when the swarm of Slaves, half savage, and half barbarous, had a language, still very confined and imperfect, conformable to the small number of their wants and their ideas, that some parts of that infant nation quitted the regions of Asia, where they led a wandering life, and migrated to Italy.

It is not pretended, however, that these casts of savages departed from some country of Asia to repair to Italy by the shortest way. It is not thus that such men establish their colonies.

A great extent of ground is necessary to men who never cultivate the earth, living only on the produce of the chase and of their flocks. When one district is despoiled of game or of pasturage, they roam to another. The nation can never be numerous, as those who compose it would mutually starve one another. As soon

as the population increases they separate, and one little tribe is decomposed into several other little tribes. In this manner, the Slaves, having quitted the regions which their fathers had inhabited, by successively changing their abode, and subdividing in proportion as they increased, might, after the lapse of some centuries, arrive at last in Italy.

It may, perhaps, be imagined, that having admitted so long a time for passing from the country of their nativity to that where they fixed, their language, during that period, must have gained a considerable increase. But this would be a mistaken notion: a language is only increased by the progress of wants and ideas; and the life of these men, being always the same, scarcely admitted of such a progress. They would only look for new names for the new objects with which they were sensibly struck, or for the new wants that they experienced.

In short, it will suffice to find a striking resemblance between a pretty large number of primitive terms among the Latins and the Slaves, a resemblance which cannot be ascribed to chance, for being convinced that the two people are of one and the same origin.

It will be proper to observe, that a great part of the slavish and latin words that we shall compare together are monosyllabic, at least in their
root;

root; which proves, independently of their signification, that they are very ancient and primitive. For, when men begin to form to themselves a language, their organs, not being as yet exercised, they would not be able to pronounce words of a certain length, and therefore almost the whole of their language is composed of monosyllables.

M. de la Condamine met with a people on the shores of the river Amazon, who made use of a word excessively long for expressing the number *three*; accordingly, the arithmetic of this people was not carried beyond that number. This only proves that the people had long exercised themselves in pronouncing the words of indispensable use, before they came to count as far as three. Nor is this at all surprising; for the art of numbers, as relating only to abstract ideas, must be of late invention among all nations.

Though perhaps it cannot be exactly ascertained to what point the Slaves had arrived in this art when they settled in Italy: yet we may be assured that they were already far more advanced than the savages on the banks of the Amazon, and that they reckoned at least as far as ten; as might be easily proved by the resemblance of the nouns of number as far as *ten* in

the flavonian and latin languages. *Dva*, *duo*, two; *tri*, *tres*, three; *šbest*, *sex*, six; *sem*, *septem*, seven; *déciat*, *decem*, ten.

Nor ought we to be astonished, that the word *šbest* was changed by the Latins into *sex*, since the latter, having lost the sound of the flavonian letter *šba*, would naturally replace it in such words as had that letter, by another sound a little different.

The french and english nouns of number are derived from the latin; and the difference seems still greater in some french and english words compared with the latin, than in the same latin words compared with the flavonian. Indeed it is the elementary and radical letters of words that declare their origin, and not their termination or any varieties that depend on the pronunciation, and on the habit rather than the organization of the different people. Thus, *deux* and *two* come from *duo*, *trois* and *three* from *tres*, and *deux*, *trois*, *two*, *three*, are not more similar to *duo*, *tres*, than these are similar to *dva*, *tri*, and *dix*, *ten*, are less like *decem* than *déciat* *.

The

* *Yeden*, *yedun*, *yedno*, by the transposition of the *n*, and the addition of *yed*, is the same word as *εἷς*, *unus*. *Dva* and *duoie*, *tre*, *trzy*, and *troie*, are evidently of all these languages, though some have changed the *d* into *t*, as the
flemish

The pronouns are not the parts of speech that were first formed; yet they were already in being at the emigration of the Slaves into Italy; as we shall presently see.

The pronoun of the first person is *ya* or *az* with the Slavonians, and with the Latins *ego*: here we can perceive no resemblance. But this same pronoun *ego* of the Latins makes *mei* in the genitive, *me* in the accusative, *nos* in the nominative and the accusative plural: and we find, in several cases of the slavonian pronoun, *menia* or *mia*, *méné*, *mné* or *mi*, *ny* or *my*, *nas* *.

The

flemish and the english, and the german into 2. *Cbetieré* and *czvoro*, four, differ not more from *τεσσαρα* or *τετραρα*, than *quatuor*, *quatre*, *vier*, *four*, which come from *πυρορα*, *φιορα*, likewise greek of another dialect. *Piench* is the *πεντα* or *φενφε*, five. *Schest* and *siedm* are the latin *sex* and *septem*, the *sechs* and *sieben* german, *six* and *seven* english, as certainly as these are from the greek *ἕξ* and *ἑπτα*. The *deciat*, the *dvadzat* are no less sprung from *decem* and *viginti*, than are the german *zehn*, *zwanzig*, and the english *ten* and *twenty*.

* The alteration of letters and the reversal of syllables are very common, not only in passing from one nation to another, as from the greek to the italian, from the italian to the french and the spanish, but from one province to another; insomuch, that we shall find in the grecian dialects, in the italian, french, german, and other patois, the same words differently pronounced. The greek and latin *ego* is

The pronoun of the second person is in latin *tu*, and in flavonian *ty*; in the dative latin *tibi*, and in flavonian *tébé* or *ti*; in the accusative latin *te*, and in flavonian *tya* or *tebya*. Plural latin *vos*, plural flavonian *vuy*, genitive and accusative *vas*.

The pronoun of the third person *il*, *elle*, was formerly expressed in latin by the words *ollus* or *olle*, *olla*: and is expressed in flavonian by *on*, *ona*. Plural latin *olli*, plural flavonian *oni*. Here is only the easy alteration of the two letters *ll* into *n*, and they have some reference to the found.

The french pronoun *se* or *soi* makes in latin in its different cases, *sui*, *sibi*, *se*; and in flavonian, *sebia*, *sebè*, *sebia*, or *sia*.

Mon, *ma*; in latin *meus*, *mea*; in flavonian *moi*, *maia*: *mes*, in latin *mei*, in flavonian *moï*.

become *io* in italian, *je* in french, *eu* in portugueze, *yo* in spanish, *ya* in rufs and polish, *ich* in german, and *i* in english. The latin *habeo*, have, is *ho* in italian, *ai* in french, *he* in spanish, &c. In all modern languages Lugdunum is changed into *Laon*, *Leiden*, *Lyon*, and *Louvaine*: of *Rotomagus* has been made *Rouen*: of *Eboracum*, York: of *Eborredia* or *Iperedia*, Ivraie or Ivree: of *Cæsaris Augusta*, Saragossa. What remains of the greek and latin word *episcopus*, in vescovo, evêque, obispo, bischoff, bishop?

Son,

Son, ſa, in flavonian *ſvoi, ſvaia*, and in latin, *ſuus, ſua*. In the plural latin *ſui*, and in flavonian *ſvoi*.

The pronoun relative is in latin *qui*, and in flavonian *koi*, it makes in the genitive latin *cujus*, and in the genitive flavonian *kogo* or *koho*. Plural latin *qui*, and flavonian *koi*.

Let us now proceed to the denominations of the moſt ſtriking objects in the ſenſible world.

The Slaves call water *voda*, whence the Latins ſeem to have formed the word *vadum*, in which the change of the *o* into *a* ſhould ſcarcely be conſidered as an alteration. In fact, theſe two letters have ſuch an affinity in Slavonian, that the Ruſſians pronounce in *a* a third at leaſt of the ſyllables that are written with an *o*. Thus, there are two *o* in the word *govorit*, to ſpeak, and both are pronounced like *a*: it being always founded *gavarit*. So alſo *moloko*, milk, is never enunciated otherwiſe than *malaka*.

The word *vadum*, which we derive from *voda*, commonly ſignifies a *ford*. But its ſignification had a larger extent, and inſtances are not wanting where it is employed in the ſenſe of water in general. Thus Catullus ſays: *Auſi ſunt vada ſalſa citâ decurrere puppi*. They had the boldneſs to traverſe the briny waters in a ſhip.

ship. Virgil likewise: *Sulcant vada salsa carinâ.* They plough the salt waters with a ship.

The Latins call the sea *mare*: it is the same word in flavonian, with the slight change of the *a* into *o*, *morè*. It is proper to observe here, that the Slavo-Russians commonly change the *o* into *a*, and the *a* into *o* in the words which they borrow from foreigners; thus, of *café* they have made *kofé*.

The Latins term the earth *terra*. But, according to Varro, this word was formerly written *tera*, and comes from the verb *tero*, because the earth is brayed by trampling it under foot. Accordingly this verb *tero*, to bray or grind, is found in the flavonian in the same sense, *teru*.

From the etymology of Varro it results, that the word *terra*, derived from *teru*, is not a primitive of the language: but, coming into general use, it caused the word, which before had signified the surface of the earth, to be forgotten. This word in flavonian is *polé*, which, by the affinity of *o* with *a*, might be changed into *palé*. What tempts us to presume that this word was always found in latin is, that there remains a verb that appears to be formed from this substantive; this is the verb *palo* or *palar*, to stray about
the

the country : *palans*, one who roams from side to side, who rambles about the fields.

The adverb *palàm* draws its origin from the same word : it signifies *manifestly, openly*. Now, what is done openly with men who dwell in tents or huts ? that which is done in the open field. This word *palàm* seems even, in its formation, to have a nearer relation with the slavonian than with the latin. It should appear that they say *palàm* for *polami*, by the fields, across the fields. What confirms us in this notion is, that we do not recollect another adverb in latin of a similar formation, unless it be its opposite, *clàm*, which means *secretly, clandestinely*, and which likewise has every appearance of being slavonian. *Clàm* is said for *kolami* ; and by a contraction in strict conformity with the genius of the slavonian language, *klami*, in the midst of stakes ; that is, within the huts which were constructed of stakes cloathed and covered with tree-bark, skins, or twigs and leafy boughs.

Indeed we forgot the adverb *coràm*, which implies *before, in presence of*. “ It differs from “ *palàm*,” says Ambrose Calepin, “ inasmuch “ as it relates solely to some persons, whereas “ *palàm* relates to all ; it moreover is attended “ with the idea of proximity.” It might then anciently denote, that the act passed in presence

of some one in a confined or inclosed place. Thus, they might have said *coràm* for *korami*, or *među korami*, between the barks, because the inclosure of the habitations was often made of bark, *kora*.

We will now adduce, without any farther reflections, the names of some of the most ordinary phænomena of nature. *Den, dies*, the day; *noſtch, nox*, the night; *ſneg, nix*, ſnow; *grad, grando*, hail; *vetr, ventus*, the wind; *tepløi, tepidus*, warm; *ſol, ſol-ntſè*, the ſun; *ignis, ogon*, or *ogni*, fire; *flamma, plamia*, the flame; *gleba, glyba*, the glebe*. *Lux*, the light, which was pronounced *loux*, ſeems to come from *loutch*,

* *Solntzé*, in latin *ſol*, ſun; *ſyn, ſinios*, in german *ſohn*, in english *ſon*, from the accusative greek *ἰόν*; *voda, ὕδωρ*; whence comes *water, waſſer*; *ludi*, from *λαός*, whence the german *leute, gens, populus*; *goſt* is the ſame word as the latin *hoſpes*, and the german *gaſt*. *Mor*, meaning plague, ſprings from the ſame root as the latin *mors* and *mōria*. *Myſs* is purely the greek *μυς*, the latin *mus*, the german *maus*, and the english *mouse*. *Oko* is the primitive of *oculus*, and the german *auge*, which is likewise pronounced *oghé*. *Svinina, ſwine-ſleſh*, in german *ſchweinſleiſch*, latin *ſuilla*; the root of which is in *ūs* and *ſus*. *Snieg* is the latin *nix*, the german *ſchnee*, and the english *ſnow*. *Viatr*, which ſignifies wind, has no other root than *αἰθήρ*, *ather* latin, german *wetter*, english *weather*. *Zima* is the latin *hiems* by metatheſis. *Imia* comes likewise from the greek *ὄνομα*, as well as the latin *nomen*, and the english and german *name*.

which

which signifies a *ray of light*. It might even be thought that *loutch* signified light as well as *lux*. Indeed from the word *loutch* comes *loutchina*, the name given to the strips of resinous wood used by the russian peasants instead of candles. In almost all these words the latin is not more remote from the flavonian than the french and english are from the latin on which they are formed. The elements of words are everywhere distinctly preserved.

Sound strikes the ears of the most savage people sensibly enough for deserving to obtain of them a name. The Slaves called it *svon*, and the Latins *sonus*. The Italians, in their corruptions of the latin, have nearly restored the flavonian word; they say, *suon*.

Salt is found in all nature. The Slaves call it *sol*, and the Latins *sal*: where there is not more difference than between *more* and *mare*.

The Latins called the eye *oculus*: this appears to be no more than a diminutive, which must have had its primitive. If the Latins have lost it, it is found among the Slaves: *oko*, the eye.

From the word *nos*, the nose, is formed the Latin *nas-us*, in which there is no other change than the termination proper to the latin language, and the ordinary metamorphosis of the *o* into *a*.

Spina signifies the back in flavonian, and with the Latins that part of the back formed by the
vertebræ.

vertebræ. They afterwards gave the same name to the shrubs, which by their thorns bear some resemblance to the vertebræ.

The word by which the Slaves expressed the *bones* in general, is reduced by the Latins to express only one of the species of the boney genus. *Cost*, with the Slaves, signifies *bone*, and *costa*, with the Latins, signifies a *rib*.

The Slaves had seen grain before they migrated to Italy. They called a seed *semia*, and the Latins *semen*. Plural latin *semina*; plural flavonian *semena*.

An elevation, a hill, was termed by the Slaves *kholm*, and by the Latins *colmen*, and afterwards *culmen*. From the flavonian word *verkh*, the summit, they seem to have made the word *vertex*, which has the same sense.

The dispositions of the layers and the fissures of rocks frequently form steps, which assist in scaling them. *Skala* signifies among the Slaves a rock, and among the Latins a ladder.

The word *gosti* signified foreigners with the Slaves. It afterwards denoted merchants, because among all nations, prior to the establishment of commerce, the merchants were foreigners, *forenses*, *gosti*, *guests*, who brought merchandises into towns where they were strangers. At present this word is commonly used for guests, for visitants, not departing from its first signi-

signification, since it constantly denotes persons strangers to the family in which they meet *.

It is to be observed, that in the flavonian tongue the letter g is nothing more than an aspiration: what is written *blago* is pronounced *blaho*.

Accordingly, from *gost*, *gosti*, or *hosti*, has been formed the latin word *hostis*, without farther change than that of the termination. This word, among the Latins of the augustan age, signifies an enemy: but Cicero informs us, that formerly it had the same import with the word *gosti*, and that it indicated merely a foreigner. *Hostis enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.* “Our ancestors called “*hostis* him whom we call foreigner †.” Hence hôte, host and guest.

* The Poles seem to have changed the *π* or *p* into *t*, as the Latins did in making *studium* of *σπῆδν*, and the Orientals, who of Palmyra have made Tadmor. The Pole of *πορος* has made *thor*, and the Russian *doroga*, way, road. The Russian from the same root has extracted all the nouns and verbs that relate to traffic and commerce. The Greek from *πορος* had made *εμπορος* merchant, traveller, and *εμπορευμα* nundinor, mercor; whence also comes the latin *emporium* mart, or place of commerce. Because merchants are generally on the way, on the road, *πὺ πορῶν in via*. See the abbé Denina, acta Berlin. 1795.

† Cicero de offic. lib. i.

Here

Here we must remark, that the Latins called *hostis* only the foreign enemy. Thus the acceptance of the word was restricted but not changed. The domestic enemy was termed *inimicus*.

Before the construction of houses *palata* signified a tent. Its diminutive *palatka* still retains the same sense. After the discovery of the art of building habitations rather more commodious, the same word *palata* signified a hall, a chamber. In the plural it denotes *palace*. Such is the origin of the latin word *palatium*. All the etymologies which the Latins have pretended to give this word are forced, unsatisfactory, and proceed from the profound ignorance they were in of their own primitive language.

The Mount Palatine, having been the part of ancient Rome first inhabited, was so called because it was there that the robbers, who afterwards became the masters of the world, immediately raised their tents, or constructed their edifices.

The word *palata*, tent or hut, is itself not a primitive. This sort of shelter was so called from the stakes driven in the ground for raising them. These stakes composed the carpentry of them, and the rest of the construction consisted in cloathing them with the skins of beasts. Such were the first tents of the Scythians and of all
the

the barbarians like them. Now, the ancient Slaves might have called a stake *palka*, stick; or rather this word *palka* is only a diminutive, and it bears the mark of it as well as *palitsa*, a thick and short stick or club. Their primitive should be *pal*, whence was formed the word *palata*.

We are not to imagine that this word *pal* was foreign to the latin tongue. The vine-props are in that language called *pala*, and the forests from whence this sort of props were taken were denominated *sylvæ palares*. It is, perhaps, from this word too that *pala*, a baker's peal, is derived, because its handle is a long stick, or *pal*, and *palea*, la paille, straw, from its resemblance to little sticks, *pals*.

We will now rapidly run over some adjectives very perceptibly alike in the two languages. *Levy*, left, in latin, *lævus*. *Nov* or *novoi*, new, in latin *novus*. *Vetkhy*, vieux, old, in latin *vetus*. *Tuny*, jeune, young, in latin *juvenis*, and more anciently *junis*, which was pronounced *yunis*, whence is formed the comparative *junior*.

The latin word *deus*, dieu, god, is generally derived from the greek *theos*. But it is highly probable that the words *divus* and *divinus* are of an anterior origin and come from the flavonian *div* or *divny*, astonishing, worthy of admiration.

The flavonian word *mal* or *maloi* signifies small, and in the neuter adverbially, *malo*, little. It is from this word that the Latins formed *malus*, which had the same signification, though it is oftener employed in the sense of *bad*. Plautus says: *Haud malum huic pondus pugno*. "This fist is of no small weight." *Malum* is also found to be used adverbially, and signifying *little*, like the flavonian *malo*.

May it not be likewise to the flavonian language that the Latins owe their adjective expressing greatness? Might not the flavonian word *mnogui*, denoting greatness of quantity, have also signified greatness in a more general sense? Then *mnog* would have begot *mnag*, *magn*, and, with the latin termination, *magnus*. Etymologies far more improbable have been hazarded and obstinately defended.

The first verb that would have been imagined, in any language whatever, is that which denotes the agreement of the subject with the attribute, or of the thing with its quality: the verb *to be*. As in all languages it is the most ancient, so is it the most irregular of all, because it was invented long before the different terminations were agreed on that were afterwards given to verbs, in regard to the different persons who take part in the actions they express, or

to

to the different times in which the action happened.

It would be surprizing that two nations, who had no communication together, should have happened to give the same name to the same thing : but it seems impossible that two nations should exactly hit upon expressing in the same way several of the variations by which the actual state of being is marked, in regard to the different persons.

If the impossibility of such a coincidence from chance be admitted, it will be agreed that the language of the Slaves and that of the Latins, expressing alike most of the persons of the indicative present of the verb *to be*, must necessarily have had one and the same origin.

	Slavonian.	Latin.
Thou art	<i>esi</i> * ,	<i>es.</i>
He is,	<i>est,</i>	<i>est.</i>
You are,	<i>este,</i>	<i>estis.</i>
They are,	<i>sout,</i>	<i>sunt.</i>

But, let us even suppose that this resemblance is owing to chance. The act of eating being the

* In the slavonian words I follow here the same orthography, as if they were written in the characters peculiar to that language ; but I ought to remark, that the initial letter *e* is always pronounced as if it were preceded by a *y*. Thus it is spoken, *yesh*, *yesh*, *yeshle*, *yem*, *yedim*, *yedite*, *yediat*, though written *esh*, *esh*, *eshle*, *em*, *edim*, *edite*, *ediat*.

most necessary to our preservation, the verb which expressed it ought to have been invented among the first. Its irregularity in the flavonian and the latin sufficiently denotes the antiquity of its origin; and the conformity that appears in this respect in the two languages is the more striking, as the inflections of the verb are more irregular. This resemblance, followed even in the irregularity, invincibly proves that both languages were originally but one. Let us then see the different inflexions of the verb *to eat*, in the present of the indicative, as well in flavonian as in latin.

	Slavonian.	Latin.
I eat,	<i>yam</i> or <i>em</i> ,	<i>edo</i> .
Tbou eatest,	<i>yesh</i> , <i>esh</i> , or <i>eshi</i> ,	<i>es</i> .
He eats,	<i>yash</i> or <i>esh</i> ,	<i>est</i> .
We eat,	<i>yami</i> or <i>edim</i> ,	<i>edimus</i> .
You eat,	<i>yaste</i> or <i>edite</i> ,	<i>editis</i> .
They eat,	<i>yadat</i> or <i>ediat</i> ,	<i>edunt</i> .

We will now inquire whether some of the most ordinary actions, and which the several nations must have designated by a verb, as soon as they imagined verbs, have not expressed themselves in the same manner in the two languages.

One of the first actions is that of *walking*, in flavonian *griadi-ti*, in latin *gradi-re*; or *to go*, in flavonian *i-ti*, in latin *i-re*, which differ only
in

in the termination. After having walked, it is convenient to rest or to *fit*; in flavonian *fid-iti*, in latin *sed-ere*. We are not obliged to fit, but to *stop* and to *stand*, in flavonian *sta-ti*, in latin *sta-re*.

In the simplest way of life there are a thousand occasions when it is necessary to express the act of *seeing*; in flavonian *vid-eté*, in latin *vid-ere*.

When once there is a beginning of society among mankind, and a reciprocation of help, they are often obliged to ask for something, and to say *give*, in flavonian *dai*, in latin *da*. Infinitive flavonian *da-ti*, infinitive latin *da-re*.

One of the first sentiments which men declare, is that of their will. In flavonian *vol-iu*, I will, in latin *vol-o*: *volia*, *volenie*, *voluntas*, the will.

When a population has attained to some growth, or is on a land difficult to turn up, the people can no longer dig themselves caverns in the manner of the Troglodytes. One of their first wants then is to construct dwellings; they must *build* as well as they are able; in flavonian *stro-iti*, in latin *stru-ere*.

These structures, as rude as the people who build them, are principally made by cutting a number of branches. In flavonian *sec-u*, in latin *sec-o*, I cut.

They next proceed to surround these stakes with other branches more flexible, or with skins. In flavonian *ventchati*, in latin *vin-cire*, to surround. By pronouncing the *c*, as probably the Latins did, and as the Italians pronounce it at present like *ch*, the latin verb *vin-chire* only differs from the flavonian *ven-tshati*, by the termination proper to each of the two languages.

For employing the branches to this purpose they must be twisted; in flavonian *vi-u*, in latin *vi-eo*, I twist. They must be bent; in flavonian *kloniti*, which they pronounce *klaniti*. The Latins had also this verb, whereof the derivatives *inclinare*, *declinare*, still remain.

The wandering hordes draw their chief subsistence from their flocks. They are pastors, *past-ukhi* or *past-ry*, *pastores*. They are thus called, because they pasture their flocks; in flavonian *pas-ti*, to pasture, and in latin *pas-cere*. The Slaves called a sheep *ov-ets*, and the Latins *ov-is*.

This inquiry, on which I thought I might be allowed to bestow some moments of leisure, appears at first sight to be merely grammatical, but it really comprises a philosophical object.

If we ascend the current of time, as far as the most ancient monuments can guide us, it is at a
still

still greater distance that we are obliged to place the dates at which the nations of Italy seem to be born. The oldest traditions, collected by writers very ancient themselves, testify that these swarms were called *Aborigines*; that is to say, they had been so long established in Italy, that they thought they had no origin, but had dwelt there from all ages. Yet here we see that these very men, so ancient, that they regarded in some sort their origin as eternal in the country where they were settled, were descended from another people more ancient still: a people who, after having necessarily led a savage life, had congregated in society, had formed to themselves a language, rendered necessary by their wants, and had become so numerous, that, from subdivision to subdivision, and after a long series of ages, they reached from the countries, doubtless very distant which they inhabited at first, to the centre of Italy.

This same inquiry, trifling as it may at first appear, leads us to the knowledge of the manner in which languages were formed. We see names given to those sensible objects which are the most necessary, and with which the senses are most forcibly struck. These names are few, because men, little used to speak, speak only when they cannot avoid it, say much more by

signs than by words, only employing the latter when the former will not suffice. It is a long while after they have given names to substances, that they begin to express, by words, their qualities: for the qualities have not a material existence independent of the substance to which they are attached. We only detach them in thought, and it was difficult and tedious to men who thought little, to arrive at these kinds of abstractions.

What I have been establishing is by no means conjectural: it is the progress of nature. I find myself in a foreign country; I know not one word of the language: I listen attentively to the names they give to the most necessary things, and I use every effort to retain them. At length I get the names of bread, of a bed, of a coat. If I want bread, I pronounce simply the word that signifies *bread*: if I would say that it is good, I express by my gesture the pleasure I find in eating it: if I wish to complain of its badness, my grimaces express disgust. If I am desirous to have my bed made, I pronounce to my servant the word that expresses the idea of bed, and I make him a sign ordering him to make it; in many cases the same gesture will answer my purpose: if I would have a piece of furniture put in another place, I shew him the
object

object and point to the place where he should put it.

It is only after having learnt the names of the things that come most frequently into request, that I endeavour to learn how they express, by speech, some of the qualities of these things. I am like a savage on his first coming into society. The difference is, that I am the only savage, and that I have to do with polished men, who have already a language which they teach me in proportion as I want it. But the intercourse of the savage was with other savages who knew no more of it than he. The inefficacy of signs for designating an absent thing, made them agree upon a word to denote that thing. But how often must the word agreed upon have been forgotten, obliterated in memories too little exercised, so as to make it necessary to invent a new vocal sound, which itself was not more durable than the former?

It is not till after having named the most ordinary things, and the most apparent qualities of those things, that the want of pronouns begins to be felt. The relative pronoun could only be formed after verbs had been invented, and these latter must have remained a long time extremely imperfect and vague as to the manner of designating the persons and the tenses. Perhaps at first they had only the infinitive.

When the language was so far improved as to suffice for the wants of the people, who as yet had but few, and for expressing some phænomena adapted to excite their sluggish attention, it continued stationary for a long time at that point. Those who spoke it must lead a new life, before they had any call to enlarge it; and this second epocha must have been very distant from the former. While they did nothing more than construct miserable huts, slay beasts, eat their flesh, change places and take rest, they had no need to add new words to their language, and they were too little advanced, even to suspect that it was imperfect.

We may suppose that the ancestors of the Slaves, previously to their extension beyond the regions that gave them birth, were already sufficiently multiplied for forming an incipient society, and rendering mutual services to each other, proportionate to the simplicity of their manner of life. It was consequently in those very regions that they began to form to themselves a language; for, till that epocha, their numbers must have been too small for necessitating them to spread abroad. Reckoning from the period when they subdivided, a very long time elapsed, before one part of them had arrived in Italy. And yet, from the moment that they settled there,

there, their language was so confined, that they had not as yet given a proper name to any animal, or to any production of the earth. A beast, of whatever species, was called *zver*: this name was softened under a milder clime, and changed into *fera* in the mouth of the Latins. I have the greater reason for advancing that the word *zver*, whence I derive *fera*, was applied to all animals in general; as the Slavo-russians still use it to express every thing that has motion. It was this, as is well observed in the *Antidote*, that induced the abbé Chappe d'Auteroche to believe, that the Russians of Siberia imagined the mercury of the barometer to be an animal.

If, about the point of time we are speaking of, the knowledge of the Slaves was more extensive; if their language had then made some progress, certain traces of it would remain in the latin, and the words of the infancy of the flavonian would not be the only ones that came down to our times *. By what fatality would the Latins have

* It may be laid down, says the abbé Denina, as a principle, that the ten or twelve languages which are spoken and written in Europe, as well as their different dialects, are sprung from a very ancient language that was spoken in western Asia and in eastern Europe. It is of little consequence to determine whether it should be called scythian, armenian, phrygian, or chaldee and hebrew. These languages, however, being

have religiously preserved these words, for the most part harsh and but little sonorous, and forgotten the others? I am therefore persuaded that the state of the language at that time, is a certain evidence of the slender progress that the genius and industry of that people had hitherto made. I imagine that they were ignorant of the metals, as the Slaves and the Latins have only mentioned them by name since their separation, and as there is not even one, the name whereof has the slightest conformity in the two languages.

These inquiries might be pursued much farther, so as to find in the flavonian some conformities with the greek, and even with the

different from each other, especially three of them, which are: 1. The flavonian, mother of the polish, the bohemian, and the rufs: 2. The german, which is either mother or sister to the swedish, the danish, the flemish, the english; and 3. The latin, whence have issued all the southern tongues of Europe, excepting the greek, it is proper to enquire into the causes of this difference. These causes are reducible to two classes, one of which may be called physical, and the other moral and metaphysical. The former consists in the change of the elements of speech; that is, of the letters, whether vowels or consonants; and that variation is the effect of organization, as this is of climate or atmosphere. The other proceeds from the different sense which custom, caprice, or circumstances give to the primitive words.

german,

german, perhaps as ancient as the greek, though the former was complete in the days of Homer, and the latter be not yet arrived at perfection. By this discovery we should perceive in a very remote antiquity, a time when almost all the nations of Europe, now thought so different from one another, composed only one people; but a people still in its infancy, and having scarcely any other ideas than those inspired by the primary wants of life. We should be brought to confess that the barbarians, the objects of our unjust contempt, are, in regard to polished nations, only children of the same family, whom the circumstances in which they have been placed, and the climates they have inhabited, have not allowed to obtain so good an education: and this would be an additional motive not to hate and despise our brethren.

I even think, that if we were tolerably well acquainted with the languages of Asia and of Europe, we might discover among them relations which would remind us of our first origin, and lead us to discover our cradle*. For example,

* *Baba*, of which the generality of languages have made the name of father, *abba*, *babo*, *papa*, *pater*, the Russians and Poles have attached to every woman who occupies the place of mother: they call the midwife *babka*, a grandmother *babushka*, an old woman *staraya baba*; the *baba* being as natural

ample, I find that *mother* is called in persian *mader*. It is the same word as the *mater* of the Romans, the *mader* of the Teutons, and the *mat* of the Slaves. The Persians call *brother*, *brader*, the Slaves *brat*, the Teutons *brader*. They call *daughter*, *dochter* as well as the Teutons; and the Slaves say *dotch*. *Son* is in the slavonian *syn*, and according to the different dialects of the teutonic, *foun* or *fon* *.

King signifies a book in Chinese. I think we perceive in this word the same radical letters as in the word *kniga* of the Slaves, which has the same signification.

Post signifies *fast* [abstinence] among the Slaves, and in a note by the editor of the *Ezur-*

tural to children as the *mama*; and what has caused the one to be adopted for expressing father, and the other for mother, is probably because the *ma-ma*, *mu mu*, is expressed by the same movement of the lips which the infant makes in asking for the breast.

* *Matka*, *brat*, *ššera*, *syn*, have certainly no other derivation than *mutter*, *bruder*, *schweſter*, *sohn*, in english *mother*, *brother*, *ſiſter*, *ſon*; and all these names are found in the greek. The words formed of *ba*, *ta*, are so natural to savage and barbarous people, as well as to children, that hence are derived the denominations *Barbares* and *Tartares* and *Tartars*. When the civilized Greeks first opened a commerce with the neighbouring nations, distinguishing no sounds from them but this *ba*, *ba*, *ta*, *ta*, they called the one *Barbares*, and the others *Tatares* or *Tartars*. See *Albé Denina*, loc. cit.

Vidam,

Vidam, I find that the word *pos* has the same meaning among the Indians.

But, for making these comparisons between the different languages, and for drawing instructive results from them, we must understand these languages. Whoever contents himself with consulting grammars and vocabularies, will be perpetually committing the most ridiculous blunders, as may be every day seen in authors who pretend to draw etymologies from the flavonian language, of which they betray a total ignorance.

It will be universally allowed, that M. Levesque has displayed no ordinary perspicacity and erudition in the foregoing essay; and I have translated it here, as well as his other on the Religion of the Slaves, on account of the able manner in which both subjects are treated, but more particularly for the sake of accompanying them with some remarks from the observations of other writers, by which, in the first instance, great light is thrown on etymological literature, and in the other many errors are corrected, which have hitherto passed unnoticed.

Different authors, says the abbé Denina*, have given a different origin to the latin lan-

* In the transactions of the royal academy of Berlin for 1795.

guage. The literati of the last century, with Vossius among them, derive it from the greek. Some learned Dalmatians, and latterly M. Levesque, author of a history of Russia, think they perceive traces of the latin tongue in the illyrian or ancient flavonian. A number of French writers, passionately fond of the Celtes, their ancestors, find the roots of the latin in the celtic. The Germans, on the other hand, assert that it is from the teutonic language that the latin took its rise. Wachter, in particular, has composed a work expressly in support of this opinion. Thus much is very certain, that the latin contains an infinite number of words which are met with in the greek. There are also some that are confessedly flavonian. Again there are others which the ancient latin authors deliver us for celtic. Lastly, it has many words that are common both to the latin and german languages, and which seem not to have passed from the latin to the german, but rather in remoter times from Germany into Italy. In short, as the Germans have often been confounded with the Celts, and these with the Scythians, and that almost all the words that are pretended to be celtic, are found in the german tongue, it is useless to endeavour at distinguishing such as are celtic, from the old teutonic words. But we shall

shall presently see how, and by what channels the Latins took the words of which their language is composed, from three different idioms, though all probably issuing from an anterior language, which was the Scythian.

At the time of the foundation of Rome, and during its first kings, southern Italy, that is to say a great part of the kingdom of Naples, especially Calabria, was peopled, as is well known, by grecian colonies; and the modern Calabria was called Great Greece, *Magna Græcia*. It may very naturally be supposed, that numbers of these Greeks concurred to people Rome, and that they introduced there a part of their language. On another side the Illyrians who inhabited the northern coasts of the Adriatic, carried on a considerable trade, as well by sea across the gulf, as by land over the carinthian or italian mountains and Venitia. If it were not from this side that the first inhabitants of Italy entered that country, as, however, is highly probable, it cannot be doubted that great numbers of people went formerly to seek establishments and their fortunes in Italy. Much is particularly said of the Liburnians, who occupied the south-east coast of modern Dalmatia, incontestably a flavonian or illyrian country. That the Celts or Gauls spread in great numbers over northern

thern Italy, is one of the best established facts of ancient history. It is, however, by no means established, that these Gauls spoken of in the first ages of roman history, came out of Gaul, that is, the countries lying to the left of the Rhine, rather than from Switzerland, from Suabia, or from that part of Germany which is situate between the Meuse and the Rhine, or between the Rhine and the Necker. Besides, it is extremely probable that the Ultramontanes, who went from the north-west into Italy, proceeded rather by the Tyrolese which touches on Germany, than by the Alpes which border on Dauphiny, much more difficult to cross. We find, at least, that a Swiss carpenter, named Elicon, went to Rome for the purpose of carrying on his trade, and we find no one who went thither from Gaul. When the Romans traded with the southern Gauls, their language was formed. The Ligurians, who separated ancient Italy from southern Gaul, the first that was subdued by the Romans, for a long time prevented these Gauls from going to Rome; and those who went thither by sea, as the Mar-seillois, spoke rather greek than celtic. Accordingly, the words which Varro and Festus give us for celtic or gaulic, were not introduced till afterwards into the latin tongue. In short, the greater and more essential part of the latin words
are

are of grecian origin, or come from some anterior language from which the greek is sprung.

We will now see in what manner the words have been inverted or changed. First, the generality of the terminations, whether of nouns or of verbs, in their passage from the greek to the latin underwent a change, except the nouns ending in *a*. *Os* was changed into *us*, *allos alius*, *Euros Eurus*; *on* into *um*, *αστρον astrum*, *νιτρον nitrum*. The *e* long or *n* of the greek is generally changed into *a* in the latin, whether at the end or in the middle of a word: *φημι* is in latin *fama*, and a thousand similar examples which might be adduced. The latin prepositions, almost all greek, underwent a like alteration in the vowels which compose them.

In the verbs, scarcely more than the terminations of the indicative present have remained in the latin, such as they are in the greek, independently of the different signification which they have acquired. Sometimes, particularly in the second person ending in *s* in greek, this *s* has remained to the latin; but the latin adds a *t* to the third of the singular, which the greek has not, and an *s* to the second of the plural. It changes the *μεν* of the first into *mus*, rescinds the final *i* of the third, and alters the *ουσι* into *unt*. It is true that this alteration was prepared
for

for it by the grecian dialects, which, instead of *legoufi*, had *legonti*, so that it only substitutes *u* for *o* or *ou*. In the infinitive, the *eu* or the *ey* of the greek was constantly changed into *re*, which is quite peculiar to that language. The nouns and the verbs beginning by vowels, and particularly by an aspirate, took in the latin, sometimes *s*, sometimes *v*, sometimes throwing out the *ε*; in this manner of *heimi*, *ἔμι*, they made *sum* from *εμι*, *εμι*, *αμ*; of *us* *sus*, of *υδωρ* *sudor*; of *εδος* *sedes*, of *οἶνος* was made *vinum*, of *ειδω* *video*.

The *ei*, which some dialects of the greek have changed into *a*, becomes very often *u* in the latin, which of *εμι* has made *sum*, of *εις*, *εως*, *unus*. The greek *v*, which the latin has retained in the words adopted afterwards, mostly technical words, and which the Latins, ignorant as yet, had not, was changed into *u* in the first formation of the language, as we perceive in *mus*, *muris*, a mouse, *sus*, *fuis*, a hog, *sudor*, sweat, *cum*, with : all of them words having in greek the *v*; *μυς*, *ὕς*, *ὕδωρ*. It may not be amiss once more to call to mind, that the greek *v* and the latin *u* are very frequently changed in german into *au*, as appears in *maus*, *maul*, *mauer*, corresponding with *mus*, *mulus*, *murus*.

The latin language abhors hiatus; it therefore separates the vowels, either by adding or trans-

posing consonants, and has always simplified the double or aspirated consonants of the greek, sometimes by changing the *h* into *o* or into *g*; making *claudo* of κλυω and κλυδω, of αῖω *audio*, *caput* and *casa* of the teutonic *haupt* and *haus*; and of υἱος making *filius*.

The latin has retained the greek aspirate only in a small number of words, and in those which it adopted when the Romans addicted themselves to grecian literature, and when *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*. It commonly substituted the sibilant for the aspirate; of ὕπνος it made *somnus*, of ὕς *fus*, of ὑπέρ *super*, of ἕξ *sex*, of ἑπτα *septem*. It sometimes replaced the greek aspirate by the *q*, as is seen in the relative pronouns, *qui*, *quæ*, *quod*, *qualis*, *quantus*, *quando*, all taken from ὅς, ὅτι, ὅτος, ὅσος, ὅτε, ὅταν, in general the roughest and harshest letters were most in use with a rude and uncivilized people. It adopted the *f*, which was called the frightful, the *m* or the final lowing letter, and the *r* both at the beginning and at the end of verbs. The terminations in *m* are exclusively latin, as they are neither found in the greek, nor even in the etruscan. A multitude of words exhibited to us in the etruscan monuments, and which are passed into the latin, have acquired the *m*, and often the *s*, which the etruscan had not, as may be seen in the monuments

reported by Dempster, by Gori, in the memoirs of the academy of Crotona, and more recently by M. Lanzi in his work on the etruscan language.

It rejected, like the russ and the polish, or changed the three aspirated consonants $\theta\chi\phi$; the latin words beginning by some of these letters, that is to say, by *th*, *ch*, *ph*, were admitted by the roman authors in their original purity from the greek, when the people had already formed the language. It is observable that the same thing has happened to the modern tongues, especially the french and english. As the Latins of $\Theta\eta$ have made *fera*, of $\Theta\upsilon\epsilon\alpha$ *fores*, so the Russians make *Feodor* of *Theodore*, *Feodosius* of *Theodosius*, *Marfa* of *Martha*, *Foma* of *Thomas*.

To the *ana* and *an*, so frequent in the greek compound verbs, and which the flavonian has changed into *na*, and the german and dutch have often retained, the latin has substituted *re*, and this same *re* takes place of the greek $\epsilon\nu$ or $\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the infinitive of verbs: making *boare* of $\beta\omicron\alpha\iota\nu$, *docere* of $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$, *legere* of $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$.

The preposition *ob*, which has the same signification with $\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota$ in greek, did not come directly from that language, but probably from the flavonian, where the *o* alone in the composition of verbs

verbs produces the same effect as the latin *ob*; or from the german, whose *umb* and *um* has still greater affinity with *αμφι* and *ob*. It took the *amb*, however, more directly from the greek, in making *ambigo*, *ambio*. The augmentation in the conjugations usually made in the greek by adding one or two syllables at the beginning of the word, the latin makes by an allongation at the end. The greek has *ελεγον*, I said; the latin, *legebam*, *legerem*. It has often inverted the syllables by metathesis, like the polish: of *αρχαξ* it has made *rapax*, of *μορφη* *forma*, it turned round the flavonian *p* which represented the greek *π*, making it a *q*, which these two languages have not. It has made *aqa* and *aqua* of *apa*; *quatuor* of *πεντε*, *quinque* or *qinque* of *πεντε*; and it substituted this *q* afterwards *qz*, for the greek *τ* and the greek and flavonian *κ*: of *τις* it has made *qis*, *quis*, of *τοτι*, *qud*, *quod*, of which the Pole and the Russian have made *kto* and *ktori*. It suppressed sometimes the initial consonants, especially the aspirate *κ*, which is the greek *χ*; of *χλαινη* it made *laena*; sometimes entire syllables, as in *γαλα*, *γαλακτος*, of which it has made *lac*, *lactis*. This transformation of the nominative *ος* into *us*, of *ον* into *um*, the genitives *ος* and *ον* into *is* and *i*, is general without exception in the latin, which of *Πιλαδονος*, *Ξενοφονος* has

made Platonis, Xenophontis, of Πεισιφράτος, Πεισιφράτης, Έπεισθε, Όμηρου, μυξίλος, μυξίης, Pisistratus, Pisistrati; Hesiodus, Hesiodi; Homerus, Homeri; myrtus, myrti. The negative preposition α or αν, when it is followed by a vowel, in the composition of the verbs and the nouns, which the teutonic has changed into *un* and *on*, and the polish into *na*, the latin has altered into *in*, as *ineptus*, *non aptus*; *iniquus*, *non æquus*; *impotens*, *non potens*; thus *imberbis*, *imbellis*, &c. In the words which it seems to have taken from the flavonian, it changed the *n* into *l*, and the *a* into *i*; as *ille* which is the flavonian *one*. It preferred also the *l* in the words derived from the greek, as *eludens* instead of *ευδης*, of which it made *lutra*, the otter.

Neither the latin nor the flavonian adopted the articles which form an integral part of the greek and teutonic languages. To the verbs, to the nouns, which it took entirely from the greek, it has frequently given a different signification, yet at the same time analogous; as we perceive in *lego*, *dico*, *doceo* *. It has sometimes taken the same words from two different dialects, as

* *Dico*, I say, in greek means, I judge. *Doceo*, I teach, in greek answers to the latin *videor*, or to *censeo*, I am of opinion. *Lego* in greek corresponds with *dico* in latin.

fero and *gero*; of *σεληνη* it makes *luna*, and of *μην*, which also signifies moon, it has made *mensis*, month. The latin has many words, which are rather found in the german than in the greek (perhaps because the greek books in which they occur are no longer extant); though we are not able to say whether they anciently passed from Germany to Italy, and into Latium, or whether under the emperors and the popes they passed from Italy into Germany. It is very certain, however, of some, as *kayser*, *pabst*, *prediger*, *priester*, *probst*, and of all the ecclesiastical titles; but of a multitude of others which are german and latin, and which resemble the common greek, it is very doubtful to which of the two languages they primarily appertained. *Discus*, *locus*, greek and latin, have certainly an affinity with *tisch* and *loch* of the german, though they do not properly signify the same thing. The most probable conjecture is, that the ancient Teutons, as well as the ancient inhabitants of Umbria, received them from a grecian dialect, whereof we have but an imperfect knowledge. This is manifest, that if the words passed from the latin to the german, they have been abbreviated, contracted, and compressed all manner of ways; and if from the german or teutonic they went over to the latin, they have all been

augmented, lengthened, and swelled. Of this we find the proof in the proper names of rivers and towns: *Amisia*, *Ems*; *Atthes*, *Adige*, *Etch*; *Moguntia* and *Maïence* is *Maintz*; *parochus* is *pfarrer*; *predicteur*, *prediger*; *angustus* is become *eng*; *angelus*, *engel*; *avena*, *haber*; *asellus*, *esel*; *butyrum*, *butter*; *calamus*, *balm*; *calix*, *kelch*; *canape*, *banff*; *cerasa*, *kirsche*; *fluvius* *flus*; *formido*, *furcht*; and numberless others.

In the latin we see words the roots whereof are only to be found in the german. The *rorarii* of the roman army could only have been so called from their arrows, made of reed, which in german is called *rohr*. The verb *præhendo* can only have been formed of the preposition *præ*, and the word *hände*, hands, *præ manibus*. *Hirtius* from *hirt*, shepherd; in like manner many roman family names. I am persuaded that the name *Rome* is nothing but the german or celtic *raum*, and the breton *room*, signifying place or space, and from being generic is become special. The aspirate must have been stronger in the language of the Teutons who migrated into Italy, than in the greek, since the Romans have more frequently retained the *h* in words that seem to have a teutonic origin, than in those coming directly from the greek: but it is generally by changing the *g*, which the Germans aspirate as

the Greeks pronounce χ , into *h*. Of *garten*, the latin has made *hortum*; of *gast*, in polish *goscé*, in rufs *gost*, *hostis* and *hospes*; for it is well known that in the old latin *hostis* signified what *hospes* implied afterwards. But again it is difficult to determine, whether the latin words which have an evident affinity with the german, went from Germany into Italy, or from Italy into Germany; perhaps it was from Illyria, whither they had been carried by the Getes, the Daces, and other oriental people, or by the famous Pelasges, they passed into Italy and into Germany. The words *garten* and *hortus* may very well be derived from the greek $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$, or $\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, which have some analogy with *hortus*. The latin diminutives have still one common origin with those of the flavonian and teutonic languages; both are like to one or two classes of the greek diminutives, which are more numerous. The characteristic letters of the diminutives, as well in the german as in the latin, are *c* or *k* and *l*; but in the latin they are more commonly of the second manner than of the former. A multitude of nouns end in *lus* and in *la*, and are all diminutives, though the principal substantive of some being lost, the derivative is no longer actually a diminutive. Such are *camulus*, *fabula*, *famulus*, *fibula*, *filius*, *tabula*, *tumulus*, *vitulus*.

The german which has retained those whose characteristic is *k* or *ch*, *mädchen*, *mütterchen*, has also several in *lein*, which proceeds from the latin *lus*, the radical consonant whereof is *l*. There is some trace of diminutive made by *c* in *ferculum*, *fraterculus*, *coperculus*, which are double diminutives, as are *catellus*, *fabella*, and all that terminate in *ellus*, *ella*. *Homuncio*, little man, resembles the polish diminutives, which generally have the *c* or *k* like the greek.

It may not be useless to make a short observation on the patronymics in the three languages now under inquiry. It is, not without reason, thought by the president de Brosies and others, that all the family names among the Romans terminated in *ius*, and that this *ius* seems to be come from the greek *υιος*, which signifies son. The flavonian forms this termination in *vitch*, which has not perhaps a different origin, any more than the german words ending in *sohn*; for this *sohn*, like the polish *syn*, may well be sprung from *υιος*, by changing the aspirate into a fibilation.

Very different from the german in regard to the declension of nouns, for which the german employs articles which the latin has not, the latin, in the formation of abstract noun substantives, approaches much nearer to the greek than the german does; *αγιότης*, *αγιότητος*, has a nearer relation

lation to *sanctitas*, *sanctitatis*, than the *beit* or *gutheit*, and *tapferkeit*, goodness and valour. We cannot, however, avoid seeing the analogy between this *beit* and *εὐς*, and *itas*. But it appears that the latin has followed two different dialects in the formation of these abstract substantives; taking *itas* from one, and *udo* from the other, when it made *fortitudo*, *ægritudo*, *similitudo*.

CHAP. III.

Of the religion of the Slaves.

THIS article is taken by preceding historians from a little dictionary of the Slavonian Mythology, composed by M. Mikhaïla Popof, and printed in a collection of his works, intituled “Dofugui,” Leifures. But, unfortunately, M. Popof himself, not being competently versed in slavonian antiquities, hastily adopted into his mythology whatever he found, without due selection, and thus has mingled a great many errors with his narrative. I therefore shall accompany these accounts with some remarks founded on more substantial authority.

The scarcity of original documents for the ancient history of the Slavonians will not allow

us to entertain the idea of ever being in possession of a complete system of their mythology: we have, however, enough of it to attest the weaknesses of the human mind, its errors and deviations, its propensity to superstition, and the cruelty which it inspires.

Procopius, the first writer who speaks of the Slavonians under that appellation, though other people known before had doubtless the same origin with them; Procopius says that they acknowledged the being of a God. He adds, however, that they admitted not of a divine providence, but thought that all events were produced by chance. Though he afterwards informs us, that when they fell sick they promised offerings to the deity for obtaining of him health. However contradictory this may seem, it is in perfect agreement with the nature of man, who in all stages of society has the art of reconciling the most absurd contrarieties.

This is nearly all that we learn from Procopius. Traditions, some particulars preserved in the chronicles, ancient ballads, and the games that have remained in use among the people, contribute to throw some farther light on the subject of which we are treating.

PERUNE, denominated by some flavonian nations *Perkune*, was the chief of the gods, the Zeus of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Romans; whose

whose power was displayed in the phænomena of the sky. He warned mortals of his vengeance by the coruscations of lightning, and his wrath was hurled in the thunder-bolt against the heads of the guilty. It was he who collected or dispersed the clouds, who restrained or shed upon the earth the waters of heaven. His name, in the old language of the Slavonians, signified thunder. He was perhaps the same deity whom the ancient Scythians revered under the name of Popeus.

The idol of Perune had the head of silver, the ears and mustachios of massy gold, his legs of iron, and the trunk was of hard incorruptible wood. It was decorated with rubies and carbuncles, and held in its hand a stone carved as the symbol of lightning. The sacred fire burnt continually before it; and if the priests neglected to keep it up and suffered it to go out, they were doomed to perish in the flames as enemies of the god. It was a small matter to sacrifice to him of their flocks; his altars sometimes smoked with the captives taken in war, and even the children of the natives were often immolated to his honour. Superstition has everywhere tinged the hands of its pontiffs in blood; mankind have everywhere made the deity a malignant and cruel being, delighting in the spectacle of suffering humanity.

At

At times, however, the worship of Perune was celebrated with less cruel rites. On such occasions they cut off the beard and the hair, and made an offering of these useless spoils at the feet of their idol. Vast forests were consecrated to him. To cut down a tree there was a violation to be expiated only by the death of the perpetrator; as if the deity could be honoured by foregoing the use of his bounties.

If Perune, the sovereign of the gods, revealed himself only by terrific thunders, if his festivals were often bloody, KUPALO, who after him received the chief homage, was a mild and beneficent deity, worshipped amidst games and festive entertainments. He was the god who presided over the productions of the earth; and his festival was solemnized at the commencement of summer, the 24th of June. The youth of both sexes, adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers, met and danced in the open fields, nimbly leaping over the fires they had kindled for the occasion. Joy was seated on every countenance, and the rustic shouts of laughter were only interrupted by the noise of the songs, in which the name of Kupalo was often repeated. The eve of this holiday, according to Lomonosof, was passed in feasting, lighting bonfires, and dancing round them. Saint Agrippina, who is invoked on the same day that

was dedicated to the feast of Kupalo, is still furnished in many places, by the common people, Kupalnitza, from the name of this ancient divinity.

It is singular, adds M. Levesque, that the feast of Kupalo should happen precisely on the same day whereon we celebrate almost in the same manner, by bonfires and dances, the festival of St. John Baptist. This ancient custom most probably came from the north, where the people more heartily indulge in merriment at the approach of summer the longer it has been delayed*.

Now the simple state of the case is this: it is a custom prevalent over almost all Russia for the young people of both sexes to assemble on the night of the 24th of June, when the church celebrates the festival of St. John the Baptist, to make bonfires, which they call kupalnitzi, to sing songs, dance round these kupalnitzi, and jump over them. In their songs, however, the

* It is somewhat still more extraordinary, that at Archangel and in the surrounding district, the people should make little bonfires on the 5th of November to celebrate, as they call it, the english straw holiday. I can account for it no otherwise than by supposing that some of our early settlers there used to have these signs of rejoicing on the anniversary of the Gunpowder-plot.

name Kupalo is not once mentioned, and no other superstitious rites are performed. This saint's day is therefore termed throughout all Russia the kupalnish Ivan; and saint Agrippina, whose anniversary is kept on the 23d of June, is for the same reason the kupalnish Agraphinia. Not only in Russia, but also in Poland, Silesia, Prussia, and other districts of Germany, this day is celebrated in the same manner. I shall here just notice by the way the idol Kopula, which appears in the Esur Vedam. The Bramins maintain that the god Brama took upon him the human nature, and appeared in India under the name of Kopulo, i. e. the penitent. Whether the Kupalo of the ancient Russians be the same with this indian Kopulo I must leave to the investigation of more learned antiquaries.

A Venus, says M. Levesque, a goddess who presided over the joys of love, was revered under the name of LADA. She had several sons: LELIA or LELIU, an infant deity, who excited the flame of love in human hearts, answered to the Cupido of the Romans, to the Eros of the Greeks, having a brother DIDE, or DIDO, who was their Anteros.

The third son of Lada was an hymenæus; he was called POLELIA: which name, signifying *after Lelia, after Love*, sufficiently points

out his functions, since marriage properly follows in consequence of love.

If the Slaves had their Venus, their Cupid, and their Hymen, they had also their Lucina, whom barren women implored for fertility and worshiped under the name of DIDILIA.

M. Le Clerc tells us also, that the goddess of love was called Lado or Lade; that Lelæ or Lelyu was her son; that the word Lado comes from the verb *ladit*, to consent or agree; that the attributes and offices of these deities are handed down to us in the old russian ballads, which therefore usually begin: *Dido kalina, Lela malina* *.

Now the truth is, that the goddess of love and marriage was called Dido, whose sons were Lado and Lelyu. As to the derivation of Lado from the verb *ladit*, it is just as much to the purpose as that of the name of the other deity Khors from *kortschit*. There is no song that begins with *Dido kalina, Lyuli malina*; but these words are usually introduced between the stanzas as the burden or as airs. In general they have no meaning at all, nor any connexion with the song in particular, being inserted merely for filling up the rythmus and completing the tune:

* Hist. de la Russie, p. 193.

as, *Divā lelyu, ai lyuli, oi didi, oi lado, kalina maya, malina maya*. Concerning the offices and attributes of these deities nothing appears in the songs *.

One of the greatest of their gods, continues M. Levelque, was the guardian of the flocks and herds: he was called Velefs or Volofs. Both the Slaves and the Russians, during the time of their idolatry, swore by their arms, by Perune, and by Velefs, who is also sometimes called Vlacié. — M. Le Clerc too says: Volofs was the guardian of their flocks, and that the word signified also wool, hair †.

* In many of the old ballads which the women are accustomed to sing in the villages, the word Lado is used instead of husband. I recollect one of these old songs, the subject of which is as follows: On a fine summer's day the young women met together on a mead, which lay close by a forest; they formed a ring, sang and danced under the shades of the trees, fanned by the cooling west wind. Suddenly they perceived one of their companions coming up to them thoughtful and melancholy; they asked her the cause of her secret sorrow. Probably, said they, thou hast a surly father-in-law, or a quarrelsome mother-in-law. Ah no! answered she, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law load me with caresses; but my lado is peevish and spiteful: my lado is a scorpion, he stings though he does not bite; let him not come hither, &c.

† Id. *ibid.* p. 190.

But,

But, if this were a flavonian deity we should explore the origin of his name in the flavonian and not in the russian language; and in the flavonian, *volos*, or rather *veles*, according to the vulgar pronunciation, has absolutely no meaning at all. If, however, he were a russian god, the signification is still less discoverable; for what is at present understood by the word *volos* (hair) will help us to no solution whatever. It is well known, that the tutelary god of the herds and flocks among the Slavonians was called *Mokos*.

Volos, hair, is derived from the flavonian *ulas*, which the Russians, on their uniting with the Slavonians, adopted and modelled after their usual mode of pronunciation. In many other flavonian words, where two consonants follow one another, the Russians insert the vowel *o* or *e*; for instance, instead of *klas*, (an ear of corn), *glas* (voice), *vran* (a raven), *pred* (before), they write *kolos*, *golos*, *voron*, *pered*.

In like manner the flavonian *ulas* in russ has been converted into *volos*. But the primitive words of that language denoting the things here mentioned, being once grown obsolete and gone out of use, have in the sequel fallen into total oblivion. In the sarmatian dialects *volos* is expressed in the following manner: in the hun-

garian *chai*, in the permian *yurs*, in the mordvanian *tscher*, in the mokschanian *scheier*, in the tscheremissian *ip*, *yup*, *up*, in the tschuvaschian *sius*, in the votiak *irsi*, *erfi*, in the vogulian *ata*, *atta*, *at*, *et*, in the lithuanian *plaukai*, in the gothic *tagl*. If the old russian tongue had a resemblance with any of these dialects, or with the gothic language, then the word *volos* or *veles* would not have had the signification here supposed to be denoted by it.

We are farther told by M. Levesque, that DOGODA refreshed the earth by mild and balmy winds, diffused serenity throughout the air, and gave birth to pleasant days; it was a zephyr. But POTZVID raised impetuous winds, caused the growling storm, and excited hurricanes; nothing was able to resist the violence of his breath; it was Boreas.

Domestic spirits, DOMOVIE DUKHI, were tutelary dæmons who protected the interior of the house. It is asserted, that even at present there are in the country peasants so superstitious as still to revere this sort of penates, making in honour of them rude drawings of figures on the walls of their houses. Another kind of household gods were serpents; sacrifices were performed to them of milk and eggs; it was strictly forbidden to do them any harm; and
sometimes

sometimes they who attempted any thing against these patron gods were punished with death *.

A Diana, a triple Hecate, was worshipped under the name of TRIGLIVA, or Trigla, the goddess with three heads.

But, contemplating Diana in no other light than as goddess of the chase, the Slavonians worshipped her under the name of ZENOVIA, and it was under her patronage that they expected a successful hunt.

* “ The domestic spirits (domovoi) were held to be
 “ the protectors of the house. The same superstitious
 “ notion still prevails among numbers of the boors, who
 “ in honour of these penates paint rude figures on the walls
 “ and stoves.” Le Clerc, *Histoire de Russie*, p. 189.
 The boors affirm, that without domovoi no house can subsist; they ascribe to them a variety of kind offices, whereof the principal are: to fodder the cattle, to cause their family affairs to succeed, and to increase their store, to drive maleficent spirits out of doors, &c. but in their honour to paint certain figures on the walls and stoves, certainly never entered their heads. I myself have seen the children of the boors at times scrawling on the walls all sorts of strange figures with a bit of charcoal or chalk, as all other persons may see in all other places; and perhaps M. Le Clerc may have taken these for religious acts in honour of the penates. Busching likewise is of the same opinion, expressly saying in his *Geography*: “ Superstitious boors paint various
 “ kinds of rude figures on the walls of their houses in
 “ honour of the penates.”— See the last paragraph of the
 the note, p. 109.

A nocturnal deity, a Morpheus, under the name of KIKIMORA, presided over dreams, begot the terrific illusions of the night, and sent phantoms on the earth to frighten mortals *.

The brightness and utility of fire obtained it a veneration among the generality of nations. Accordingly, the Slaves revered the sacred flame, the inextinguishable fire, raising temples to that element in a great number of their towns: but it was by cruel rites that they wor-

* KIKIMORA was not the goddess of dreams as some have conjectured: but, by the report of the boors, Kikimora was a child whom the devil stole out of the womb of its mother, because she had cursed it. Accordingly, they forbid mothers, when they are vexed and out of humour, to give their children to the devil; for the boor women, when they are angry with their husbands, never dare to scold them, but vent their fury on their children, and give it them soundly. The old women affirm, that if the devil fetch thee! be spoken in an evil hour, the devil immediately appears, and gets possession of the child. These stolen children are brought up by the devil; and when they have reached the age of maturity, they are neither devils nor human creatures; they are invisible, are afraid of the cross and holy water; in their nature and dispositions they have a sort of attachment to mankind, and rarely do them harm. These kikimoras, it is said, will take up their abode for several years together in a house, and answer all kinds of questions that are put to them by a number of knocks; viz. *Yes* by one knock, and *No* by two; with a number of other fooleries.

shipped

shipped this purest of all material principles. They sacrificed to it the prisoners, and devoted to it a great part of the spoils they had taken from the enemy. It was to it they had recourse in violent maladies. Their crafty and interested priests delivered answers to the sick, which the ignorant people believed to be inspired by the deity whom they called ZNITCH.

There was, however, at Kief another god of health: at least it is thought that such were the functions of the deity KHORS or Korcha, who in this case would be an *Æsculapius*, as Znitch would be an *Apollo*.

M. Popof, and after him Le Clerc, derive this Khors from *kortschit*, without informing us whether that word be slavonian or russian, as it may easily be that it was entirely unknown to the Slavonians of those times who worshipped the god Khors, having passed from some other into the russian language. According to their interpretation it implies the same as to mitigate, namely diseases; and therefore Khors was the slavonian *Æsculapius*. The present signification of the word *kortschit* (to contract or draw together) is exactly the reverse of their's; and a physician, whose prescriptions were confined to astringents, would meet with but little practice. It is Tatitschef's opinion that Khors was

rather what Bacchus was among the Romans ; and this is likewise more credible.

In the same city they acknowledged also OSLAD as the god of entertainments and festivities, answering to Comus.

NIYA was a Pluto, a subterranean deity, the divinity of the bowels of the earth, a god of the infernal regions.

The festival of the god of peace, KOLIADA, was celebrated by games, diversions, and banquets. In many villages his name is still sung at certain dances and particular games.

The god of the waters, the Neptune of the Slaves, was styled TZAR MORSKI, the king of the sea.

An aquatic deity of inferior rank was called the marine monster, CHUDO MORSKOE. Some pretend that he was a triton ; but it seems as if they entertained a more frightful and fantastical idea of him ; at least, if we may admit the testimony of an old popular saying addressed to him : “ Thou who art neither crab, nor “ fish, marine reptile, thou art the terror of “ mortals.”

The Slaves believed also in a deity who was the distributor of riches, a Plutus, whom they denominated DAIBOG : a Priapus worshipped at Kief under the name of TOUR ; a god Terminus,

nus, named TCHOUR, who protected the fields and the ploughed lands, and guarded their boundaries: giants *, under the name of VOLOTI: a Flora, or goddess of the spring, named ZIMTSELA: POLKONI, who in the upper half of the body were of the human shape, and in the lower half resembled horses or dogs.

The RUSSALKI were nymphs, the subordinate goddesses of waters and forests. They possessed all the graces of youth enhanced by the charms of beauty. They were frequently seen sporting on the banks of rivers and lakes; sometimes bathing in the limpid streams, or swimming on the surface; and in this exercise some of their charms were only concealed from the prying view for the

* The notion that the Slavonians also worshipped giants (ipolines) under the name Volotes, and a centaur called Polkan, may be accounted for in the following manner: The Slavonians gave the Romans the appellation of Volotes; as the Poles still call the Italians, Volokhians, or Vlokhians. When the fame of their exploits had penetrated into the north, the ancient Russians imagined that people to be of larger stature than the generality of mankind. The vulgar are to this day of opinion, that there were formerly a race of the name of Volotes who were much larger than persons now in being. They even believe, that some ages hence a little generation of men will appear, who will be called Pyshiki. Of the same nature is the old wives' tale of the giant Polkan, with whom they commonly begin their ridiculous stories.

fake of presenting more enchanting attractions : to attitudes full of grace succeeded movements still more voluptuous. Sometimes they were seen on the margin of the waters combing their fine long azure locks ; at others swinging, now with a rapid motion, now with a gentle vibration on the flexible branches of the trees. Their light drapery, flowing to the sport of the winds, in its varied undulations alternately concealed and displayed the treasures of beauty. Sacrifices were made to these amiable divinities.

We see then that the imagination of the Slaves was not inferior to that of the Greeks, in the idea they had formed of the ruffalki ; but the image of their satyrs, whom they called **LECHIE**, was extremely deformed. This denomination expresses that they were the deities of the forests. The superior part of their figure was like a man ; but they had horns, the ears and beard of a goat, and from the waist downwards were shaped after that animal. Thus far they differ little from satyrs ; but in other particulars the resemblance does not hold. When they walked in the grass they did not rise above it, and the herbage still growing was sufficient to conceal them ; but when they roamed about the forests they equalled the loftiest trees in height. Their screams were so loud as to strike
terror

terror to a great distance round. Woe to the thoughtless wretch who should dare to traverse the woods : he was presently surrounded by the Lechies, who seized upon him, leading him about from side to side till the close of the day, when at night-fall they conveyed him to their caverns, where they took pleasure in tickling him to death. These old stories are still repeated by the common people *.

It has already been observed, that in several places, whole forests were consecrated to some god ; but others were even regarded as divinities themselves. No wood was to be cut in them ; and it was prohibited to kill even the

* The primitive inhabitants of all woody countries have had their satyrs, fauns, and dryads, or other dæmons of the forests. Among the russian boors it is still current, that the Lefchie (sylvan goblins) live in the forests and delight in using every artifice to lead travellers astray, by transporting the same objects to different places. They hold them to be unclean spirits ; and concerning their abode in the forests they have the following story : when Satan, for his pride and insolence, was hurled down from heaven with all his crew, they lighted in various places ; some in the woods, others in the water, others in the fields, and some remained aloft floating on the clouds, where by the eternal decrees, or from their own choice, they continue for ever. Those who took their abode in the forests are called Lefchie, those in the water Vodeniki, those in the fields Ruffalki, and those in the houses Domovoi.

smallest

smallest animal that took refuge in their coverts. The slightest violation of these deified woods was a horrible sacrilege followed by the death of the impious transgressor.

The rivers no less than the forests had a share in the worship of the Slaves. The Don or Tanais received their votive offerings. Many of the ancient ballads begun by the word Dunai, which is the name of the Danube: but, among the sacred rivers, it should seem that the Bogue, known by the ancients as the Hypanis, held the foremost station. The banks of it being never approached but with religious awe, and the water of it drawn with a serious dread of prophaning the holy stream. Lomonosof thinks that it was from the name of this river that the Slaves derived the name of God, whom they call BOGUE.

This veneration for the waters was general among all the Slaves. Those who inhabited the isle of Rugen had deified the lake Studenets. It lay in a thick forest, which by its gloominess inspired a sacred horror into all who came to worship the liquid deity. Though the lake teemed with an extraordinary quantity of fish, none dared to catch them; and thus the prodigality of nature was rendered useless by superstition.

stitution. Sacrifices were offered up on its borders, its votaries made prostrations to the waters, which were never drawn but accompanied by fervent prayers. It was, especially in the spring season, at the time of the thaw, that the festivals of the river-gods were celebrated with the greatest solemnity; as, after having so long been retired beneath an impervious veil, they now deigned to reveal themselves afresh to their faithful votaries. Human victims were thrown into the waters with solemn ceremonies: and such as were animated with a more ardent zeal spontaneously ran to drown themselves with pious ardour. In like manner as the Indians throw themselves before the car of their idol for the honour of being crushed under its wheels.

To strive to pierce the thick cloud that hides the future from our view is natural to man. Accordingly, we can scarcely name a people who have not had among them professors of the pretended art of divination. The Slavonians practised it in various methods. The most common was by throwing into the air rings called *crujeki*; being white on one side, and black on the other *. When the white side fell uppermost

* Among the tribes descended from the Sarmates, living still in idolatry, or having but lately adopted the christian faith, such as the Tschuvashes, the Mordvines, and the Tschere-

most it was a fortunate presage; but if the black it was a fatal sign. If, on throwing up
two

Tschheremisses, we are to look for the traces of the ancient russian worship. The Tschuvasches have really household gods under the name of Irich. In their opinion they are fond of living in pewter pitchers; at the request of the master of the house they will cause hurts and diseases to fall upon the neighbours, but preserve the house where they live from every harm. They make a hole in the middle of the pitcher, through which they pass a coloured string of worsted, and tie at the end of it a twig of the service-tree with its fruit, which they carefully change every year at the time of its maturity; they then wrap the pitcher in a piece of clean linen and birch-bark, and hang it up to the top of the room. To the pitcher thus wrapped up they fasten several leaden dumps, and keep it all thoroughly clean and bright. Though the mythology of the Tschuvasches be disfigured, or almost obliterated by extravagant and monstrous fables, yet their ideas of many things are in perfect harmony with those of the ancient heathens. They imagined that the fates of mortals depended on certain inanimate things, to which they ascribed supernatural powers, and that their prosperity was immovable so long as they had them in their hands. The Tschuvasches have likewise their palladium under the name of Thiuri; it is made of two little boards, on which are drawn several uncouth figures with heads of oxen and the like; they keep them carefully, imagining that on their preservation depends the weal or woe of all the family. Among the russian boors also are superstitious practices of a similar nature: under the name БУКА they denote any nocturnal object of terror,
like

two circles at once, they shewed different sides, the success to be expected was moderate. At other times auguries were made by the return of the birds of passage. On meeting with certain animals, their particular vociferations were not indifferent accidents, but always delivered some prophetic lesson. The undulations of flame or of smoke, the currents of water, their waves, their foam, were all consulted. These follies in a barbarous people are the less surprising, as

like the roman Monducus or Lamia. They frighten the children with them, to deter them from going out of doors in the evening and hurting themselves in the dark. Nothing is more common than to hear it said to them, Do not go out; the Buka is there; the Buka will eat thee up. They represent the Buka as having a large mouth and a long tongue, with which he laps the child round and pulls him into his gullet. According to the vulgar he goes about the yard by night, and carries off all the children that come in his way.

It is not true that the russian boors hold the pigeon for a divine bird, as some have supposed. They refuse to eat them, because, according to an old tradition, they think it a sin to eat birds that are born blind; or rather the old tradition deters them from it. Not less unfounded is the assertion, that snakes are adopted among the household gods, that offerings are made to them of milk and eggs, and that persons have been punished with death for endeavouring to kill them.

even

even among polished nations persons distinguished by their birth and fortune sometimes climb by stealth to the garret of some vile impostor to consult with a stupid and curious eye, the white of an egg adhering to a glass, or the fantastical forms of melted lead precipitated in water.

The vanity of mankind is such that they regard as a thing of consequence the insensible tabernacle of flesh they leave behind them at their death. Hence that respect that is shewn by all nations to loathsome carcases; hence that art of preserving by salts and perfumes what ought to be restored to the earth; hence that dread of violating a poor portion of matter in the act of decomposing, and which can only deserve to be comprised in the class of beings when it has received a renewed organization; hence in short those funeral obsequies connected almost everywhere with the rites of religion. The generality of the flavonian nations inhumed their dead. After having deposited the corpse in a grave they raised over it a hillock of earth. Here they assembled and celebrated the *trizna*. It consisted in a religious feast, as splendid as possible in those early periods: in other words the strongest hydromel was served round without measure. Sometimes at these funeral festivals,

vals, celebrated on the death of a prince or chieftain, sacrifices were made of the prisoners taken in war.

It was the custom with some particular tribes to burn their dead. On such occasions the ceremonial began by the *trizna* or funeral repast: they then proceeded to burn the carcase, carefully collecting the ashes and the bones that were not entirely consumed, inclosing them in vases, which they exposed on columns near the town.

The practice of the *trizna*, adds M. Levesque, is not entirely lost in Russia. There are scarcely any interments, at which tea, coffee, wine, punch, and other liquors are not handed to the company *. They sit drinking round the dead body,

* That numerous superstitions are practised by the rude and unlettered vulgar of all countries is so trite an observation, that it would be folly to repeat it, but as little occasion is there for authors hastily to charge particular nations with superstitious and ridiculous ceremonies that do not belong to them. Thus, we have read, that the Russians who adopted from the Greeks their *kolivo*, or libation on the graves of the dead, retained the *trizna* of their ancestors; and that at funerals it is the practice to serve about to the attendants tea, coffee, brandy, and punch, which they drink seated round the corpse. But the fact is, that the *trizna* of the ancient Russians has not the least resemblance with the grecian *kolivo*; and when the forefathers
of

body, which is clean shaved, with the hair well-dressed, and exposed to view in a painted coffin, gilt or silvered, and lined with silk. He is dressed in his gayest apparel, with white gloves on his hands, and holding in them a cross and a nosegay. Women have new gowns made for them on the occasion.

of the present Russians had adopted christianity, they borrowed all their church ceremonies from the Greeks, among which was also the kolivo, and consequently they could not retain the trizna. The custom of entertaining the persons invited to attend the funeral with different kinds of liquors, is nowhere known in Russia: the relations and friends of the deceased are alone invited; they attend the corpse into church, the pope of the parish going before; and after the funeral dirge is sung, according to the ritual of the eastern church, they all return home.

Equally unfounded is the account which has been copied again and again from one writer by another, that at funerals a passport is put into the hand of the deceased for him to deliver to St. Nicholas, that he may take charge of his soul and lodge it safely in paradise. The truth of the matter is precisely this: the pope puts an absolution-prayer into the dead person's hand after reading it aloud. St. Nicholas is not once mentioned in it, and even the vulgar have not the slightest notion that he is to take charge of the soul and place it in paradise. The priest only prays the Almighty in it for the forgiveness and remission of those sins of which the deceased had not time to repent, or that might have escaped his memory.

All this round of absurdities which we have been relating composed the dominant religion of the first sovereigns of Russia; though several of the tribes under their dominion had their peculiar deities.

Such was the mighty god SILNY BOGUE, or KREPKI BOGUE. It was an idol in the human shape, holding in the right hand a lance, and in the left a silver globe. At his feet lay the heads of men and lions: he was a sort of god of war.

Such also was the golden woman ZOLOTAIYA BABA. It should seem that she was considered by her worshippers as the mother of the gods. She held in her arms, like the Isis of the Ægyptians, an infant who was called her grandson. Her image was gilt; whence it was that she had her name. Round the idol was a great number of musical instruments which made a terrible noise in the temple. The goddess was reported to deliver oracles. Mankind have often thought their gods were mercenary because their priests were so: accordingly no one dared to pass the temple of the gilded woman without leaving some offering. Those who had nothing to give tore off a piece of their garment as a tribute to the goddess, while they paid their vows lying prostrate on the earth.

The Slaves of Rugen, separated from the rest by their theological opinions, had divinities peculiar to themselves.

The first of all was SVIATOID or SVETOVID, god of the sun and of war. His temple stood in the isle of Rugen, in the city of Acron. Hither came annually a great concourse of persons of both sexes to make their offerings to the god. The statue, of an enormous size, and made of hard wood, had four faces, apparently to denote the four seasons of the year, successively brought round by the course of the sun; or perhaps the four cardinal points over which he diffuses light. This idol had no beard; his hair was frizzed in the manner of the Slaves of Rugen, and his garment was short. In the left hand he held a bow, and in the right a horn of metal. To his side hung a long sword in a silver scabbard. Beside him lay a bridle and saddle of extraordinary magnitude. This idol was in the middle of a sort of sanctuary, constructed in the centre of the temple, and round the sanctuary were curtains of rich stuff. On the festival of the deity, the priest who delivered to the people the responses of the god, entered this tabernacle alone, carefully holding his breath, and every time he was forced to respire, running to the door of the holy place, and putting his head without to dis-

burden

burden his lungs of the air with which he was almost suffocated; being afraid lest the breath of a mortal should be derogatory to the respect that was due to the deity.

Once a year this priest, with great ceremony, filled with wine the horn held by the idol. The wine remained in the horn till the return of the anniversary. A white horse was consecrated to the god, and it was not permitted to any, except the priest, to cut his mane or to mount him. The inhabitants of Acron believed that Svetovid occasionally rode him to fight against their enemies. In proof of this they alleged, that, after having left this horse on the evening well rubbed down, and tied to his rack, they often found him in the morning covered with sweat and dirt. By this they were persuaded that the god had rode him hard, and never suspected that the priest himself had been galloping the sacred animal during the night.

When the harvest was got in, the whole people assembled about the temple to celebrate the solemn feast. On the eve of this solemnity, the priest was obliged himself to sweep and cleanse the temple.

The next day he took the horn out of the hand of the god; and considering the wine which he had poured into it the preceding year,

he predicted the fertility of the current year. When but little of the wine had evaporated, the year was to be blessed with plenty; but if the waste had been considerable, they were to expect a scanty harvest.

The priest then spilt a portion of the wine at the feet of the idol, and filled the horn afresh. This done, he drank to the health of the god, imploring his blessing on the people for plenty, wealth, and victory; and, having replenished the horn again, he replaced it in the hand of the deity.

These ceremonies being ended, Svetovid was consulted on the military successes they might hope to obtain, and his horse was the minister by whom the response was given. The presages were drawn in the following manner: lances were disposed in a certain order, and to a particular height; when by the manner in which the horse leaped over these several rows of lances, the divination was made concerning the future events of the war, and it was undertaken or delayed, according as the prognostications had been favourable or adverse.

Hitherto we have beheld in the worship of Svetovid only the absurdity of superstition; we shall now proceed to his cruel rites. When the festival was determined, the sacrifices commenced.

menaced. Sometimes the immolation of animals sufficed. But when the priest declared, that there were other victims more agreeable to the god, a more worthy offering to his power, human victims; they were chosen from among the prisoners. Each of them that were to be sacrificed was accoutred with all his arms, and mounted on a horse as in the day of battle. The legs of the horse on which the rider was bound, were then tied to four posts; and raising a pile of dry wood on each side, the fire was applied to it, and thus these miserable victims were slowly consumed by the flames.

At the close of this barbarous ceremony a round piece of pastry was brought, made of flour and honey, the brims of which were sufficiently raised for concealing a man in the midst. Into this the priest entered; and asking with a loud voice, whether any one could see him? on their answering no, he turned towards the idol, and addressed his supplications to the deity to manifest himself to his people the following year. Then, giving his benediction to the spectators, he admonished them to resign themselves to the pleasures of the table. On this, the repast began, which of itself composed an essential part of the festival. The rest of the day was passed in eating and drinking, and it would have been a disgrace,

disgrace, or even a sort of impiety, for any one not to be intoxicated.

A third of all the booty captured from the enemies was laid up in the temple of Svetovid, and every year three hundred horsemen taken in war were devoted to him ; their spoils were put into the hands of the priest, by whom they were deposited in the treasury. The contents of this treasury were carried off by the Danes when they sacked the city of Acron ; at which time the temple was destroyed, and the idol cast into the fire.

The Bohemians had an equal veneration with the Rugians for Svetovid : and therefore, at their conversion to christianity, Vytcheslaf, their prince, in a manner put a trick on their superstition, by giving them the relics of St. Vitus, whom they adopted for their patron. It is to be remarked, that in the flavonian language there is no difference between the name of the ancient idol and that of the saint ; both being alike pronounced Sviatoy Vit.

After Svetovid, the deity most revered by the same people was PRONO. He was placed on a lofty oak, surrounded by numberless idols, having two or three faces, and sometimes more.

The altars of the goddesses SEVA were stained with human gore, as well as those of Svetovid
and

and Prono. She presided over the productions of the earth, and a deity so beneficent was deserving of a milder worship. Her statue represented the figure of a naked young woman; her flowing hair reached below her knees; holding in the right hand an apple, and in the left a bunch of grapes.

Some of the Slavi also paid their adorations to the white god BELY BOGUE. His statue, smeared with blood, was covered with flies. His rites consisted in diversions, games, and feasts. He was a beneficent deity; answering to the good principle, the Oromazes of the Persians. The black god, TCHERNY BOGUE, corresponded on the contrary to the evil principle, the maleficent being, to Arimanes. He was worshipped by bloody sacrifices,—and the prayers of his votaries were addressed to him in a mournful and plaintive voice.

Such was the superstition of the Slavonians; such it has been among all people; every where absurd and sanguinary, everywhere adding to the miseries of human nature, and insulting the deity, under pretence of revering him.

With the system of christianity since introduced, several superstitious opinions and practices have been blended, as every christian will allow to be the case with every christian sect,

except that to which he has the happiness to belong. As many things, however, delivered by travellers and others that have written on the customs of Russia, are justly and accurately detailed, it is the more necessary to rectify some at least, if not all of the errors into which they have fallen.

Of the greek and russian monks we have been told that they are mere boors, without education or principles; that they perform the lowest drudgery; and that the whole of their learning consists in reading and writing. Doubtless such monks were formerly in Russia, when the monasteries were an asylum for all sorts of vagabonds: people who were not inclined to work for their bread, got themselves admitted as monks, and passed their whole lives in idleness, on the wages of superstition. But now none except aged priests are admitted; for though young people are entered of the order, they are only such as have been designed for the church from their youth, and have gone through the needful studies. Hereupon they become igumens, (abbots), archimandrites, and lastly archihiereys. In virtue of their oath, as monks, they are bound to perform all the duties imposed on them by their superior; as the primary vow of the monk is obedience. Those who enter the order for no
farther

farther purpose, but merely for the good of their souls, are employed in various kinds of work, for procuring themselves and their aged brethren food and raiment. Among these are seldom any that can write and read; being mostly common people, and to these properly belongs the description that has frequently been given of the monastic state.

Busching says that the Russians have no hymn-books, and that what they sing in churches is confined to the psalter. On the contrary, they have more than they need. The book *Oktoich* contains a particular canticle for every day throughout eight weeks; and are all composed by St. John Damascenus. Besides these, they have peculiar ceremonies and hymns for every festival and saint's day throughout the year, comprized in twelve books, under the title of monthly *Minei*. For the great fasts they have again a book entitled *Triodion*, wherein are three hymns for every day. The anthems that are daily chanted from Easter to Whitsuntide, compose a separate book, under the name of *Triodi*.

The russian populace have a prodigious faith in St. Nicholas the wonder-worker, whom they esteem as a singular favourite of God, and therefore solemnize his anniversary with extraordinary

nary devotion; but his picture has no pre-eminence over that of another faint, and he is not held to be quite equal with God, as some writers pretend. If the vulgar, from ignorance, hold crossing themselves, prostrating themselves to the ground, bathing and fasting to be religious acts, at least they know thus much, that it is incomparably more sinful to commit a murder or a robbery, than to eat meat in the fasts. The story of a robber, who confessed a variety of heinous offences in the way of his profession, yet would not avow that he had eaten flesh on a fast day, I have indeed frequently seen and heard related, but can neither confirm nor deny the fact. At any rate, this would be no proof that all Russians entertain the same sentiments with the robber on this point.

Among other instances of the superstitions that are practised by the common people in Russia, the following is sometimes related by foreigners. On the anniversary of the decollation of John Baptist, the boors bring their horses before the church, through a pit dug expressly for that purpose. Each horse has a halter of linden-bark. The pope stands on the brink of the pit, and sprinkles every horse as it comes out with holy water. When they are all come out of the pit, they take off their halters and lead them
across

across several fires, which the Russians call *jivoi* ogn, living fire. Into these fires the boors throw the halters they have taken off.—In this story again two things are confounded together: the boors lead their horses before the church on the day of the holy martyrs, Florus and Laurus, which is celebrated on the 18th of August; as the vulgar, in conformity with an old superstitious tradition, hold them to be the tutelar saints of horses. When the liturgy is over, and after the collect for these two saints has been repeated, the priest goes out of the church, sprinkles the horses with holy water, and thus endeth the whole ceremony. The other custom is indeed superstitious, but it relates entirely to the medical art. When the distemper among the cattle breaks out, the boors dig a deep pit, on each side of which they kindle a large fire, and drive the cattle through the pit, in the opinion that the distemper is thereby removed, and that the cattle not yet infected are preserved from the contagion. In this business they neither use holy water, nor observe any other ceremonies.

In a splendid work published in France some years ago, we find the following passage: “Not
“ to increase the spiritual affinity which forbids
“ intermarriage, in the orphan-house at Mosco
“ one pope always baptizes the boys, and an-
“ other

“ other the girls ; in Russia the godfathers and
“ godmothers are regarded as fathers and mo-
“ thers, and their god-sons and god-daughters
“ as absolute brothers and sisters, and of course
“ cannot marry together.” If it were true that
the children baptized by one priest were considered as spiritual relations, it would follow, that every parish, nay that every church must have two popes, one to baptize the boys, and another the girls ; but they usually have only one who baptizes all the children, and in due time, as occasion calls for it, without any scruple of conscience, unites them together in holy wedlock. The canons of the church ordain, that at the baptism of a boy one male sponsor, and at the baptism of a girl one female sponsor shall be present. In process of time the custom was introduced of adding a female witness at the baptism of a boy, and a male witness at that of a girl ; others from vanity invite several more. But the rubric still remains unaltered and unalterable : only one of them assumes the office of a sponsor, and the rest are merely of the audience. Boys of several fathers who have the same sponsor, and likewise girls of different parents, who are in the same predicament, are spiritually related, and their children cannot intermarry to the eighth generation. The same spiritual affinity takes place

place likewise between the children of the male and female sponsors and their god-children.

The rite of cutting off the first hair in the temple, and offering it in honour of the deities is of as old a date as the heathenish times, and from the pagans it passed over to the christians. In the primitive church the priest cut off the hair of the infant to be baptized, read some prayers, and a godfather or a godmother must be present at the ceremony. The priest having cut off the hair, presented it to the sponsor, who pressed it into a lump of wax, which he stamped with the figure of the Redeemer, and then laid it up as a relic of a pious ceremony. In the opinion of some it was retained by the priest, who deposited it in a consecrated place. This day of the abscission of the hair was celebrated every year as the name's-day is done at present. The ceremony is still retained in the orthodox church, and is performed immediately after the blessing that follows the baptismal office. The pope cuts off the hair crosswise, reads the prayer appointed, and then hands it to the sponsors, who enfold it in wax. Some priests stick this wax against the church walls, or some other suitable place; others throw it into the font, and let it run with the water under the church; there is no particular canon or rubric on this head.

The

The ceremony of cutting off the hair was in use among the Slavonians and Russians both before and after the admission of christianity. “ It
“ was an old custom among the flavonian
“ princes,” says Tatishcheff, “ to shave their
“ children and to set them on a horse ; this was
“ performed whilst they lived in idolatry, usually
“ in the seventh year of their age, with great
“ solemnity, and they bestowed on them a name,
“ as we read in Kromer and other polish historians, concerning the tonsure of Lech, the
“ first polish prince. This usage was preserved
“ a long time even after they became christians,
“ as a ceremony not belonging to the faith. In
“ the life of Yury, a son of the grand-prince
“ Ivan Vassillievitch, it is said, that in his seventh
“ year he was shorn upon a saddle with arrows,
“ and seated on a horse ; at this ceremony persons of distinction were present, as the kinsmen are at baptism. Though this custom,
“ as far as I know, is no farther mentioned of
“ the monarchs, yet I recollect that it continued
“ to be the practice among people of condition.
“ Afterwards, the sons of the sovereigns, in the
“ seventh year of their age, were publicly presented to the acclamations of the people ; at
“ which time they came out of the hands of the
“ women, and were put under the tuition of
“ men,

“ men, as we see in the case of the tzarevitches,
“ Simeon and Alexey Alexeyvitch, on the pre-
“ sentation of whom general acts of grace were
“ displayed, and the nobility in particular re-
“ ceived more estates. Among the Tartars
“ this practice of shaving off the hair is also in
“ use.”

The custom of constantly wearing the crucifix about the neck is confined to Russia. History furnishes us with no means for drawing conclusions concerning the origin of it. When Joachim, as appears from the novgorodian chronicle, was employed in baptizing the people of Novgorod, he ordered little crucifixes to be suspended round the neck of such as were baptized, to distinguish them from the unbaptized; and since that time according to Tatishchtschef, the custom has spread over all Russia.

The ringing or striking of the bells is not held to be a part of divine worship, as Busching and others assert. They are sounded no more than is necessary; as, according to the number of the strokes, every one without the church knows what part of the divine service is beginning within it. Thus, several strokes are struck just before the mass; and this is called blagovest, i. e. the agreeable sound, as a summons to the praises of God. Before the beginning of the liturgy it
sounds

sounds thrice, and in the middle of it a few strokes are given to the bell, to let the people without know that the hymn to the holy virgin is now beginning to be sung. All persons on hearing this sound throw aside their work, bow and cross themselves, repeating silently the verse then singing in the church. In the same manner are regulated the stated number of strokes at the several periods of the vespers and the matins. On some holidays they are sounded the whole day long.

In these remarks on the histories of Russia by M. le Clerc and others, I have generally followed the late learned and laborious major-general Ivan Boltin; who, by his elaborate *Primetſchaniya na istoriyu drevniya i nuneſchniya Rossii gospod. Leklerka*, has thrown so much light on russian history, and acquired so much fame among his countrymen, that I persuade myself I do an acceptable service to my own in presenting them with this specimen of it.

On the orthography of the russian words.

THE diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, unless there be a diæresis on the *i* (*i*), are pronounced with a mellow sound, as if they were written *aiye*, *eiye*, *oiye*. Thus in *Trubetskoi*, *Alexei*, the *i* is pronounced as if the words were *Trubetskoye*, *Alexeye*.

If there be a diæresis on the *i*, it forms a distinct syllable, as in the french *Mo-i-se*.

An, *in*, *on*, are pronounced as if they were followed by a mute *e*. Thus, *Ivan*, *Panin*, *Nikon*, must be pronounced *Ivane*, *Panine*, *Nikone*. The Russians have no nasal sounds.

The Russians have a duplicate of the letter *i*, but different as to sound. The former is pronounced as in french. The other, which, for want of a proper character, we represent by a *y*, and is called by the Russians *yéry*, has a fuller and more mellow sound, something like the french triphthong *oui*, pronounced very short.

The *o* is often pronounced like *a*. The proper name written *Golitzin* is pronounced *Galitzine*. *Kazak* is rather said than *Kozak*. *Potemkin* is pronounced *Patiumkine*, because the *o* is changed into *a*, and the medial *e* frequently transformed into *ju*.

The consonant *j*, wherever placed, is pronounced as in the french words *je*, *jamais*. Thus *jilié*, *ostrojski*, as if it were *ostroge-ski*; *Rjevski*, as if *Rgevski*.

The Russians give their sovereign the title of *tzar*, writing it by the character which they call *tzi*, and answering to our *tz*. Foreigners do wrong to write it *czar*. The occasion of this mistake is, that the Poles, Hungarians, and other nations of the Slavonian language, who have

adopted the roman letters, give to *cz* the found of *tz*. Thus they write *devicza* (a virgin), and pronounce it *devitza*, and at the end of words they put *cz* for *itch*.

I say *tzaritzza* instead of *czarina*, which is neither rufs nor any language in the world. The Russians fyle the wife of the tzar *tzaritzza*, and the daughter of the tzar *tzarevna*.

We must likewise write *tzarevitch*, and not *czarovitz*, the fon of the tzar.

The *v* is pronounced as in english. *Golovkin* is pronounced *Golove-kine*; *Novgorod*, pron. *Nove-gorode*.

The Russians pronounce the *v* like an *f* at the end of words; and, on this occasion, I have always written as they pronounce. I have put *Romanof* instead of *Romanov*; *Rostof* instead of *Rostov*; *Kief* instead of *Kiev*. Some persons in these instances use a double *ff*, which indicates too much strefs and too hard a pronunciation.

Our countrymen, unacquainted with the russian language, or Russians unacquainted with ours, usually, copying from the german, employ the *w* of that language. Thus, instead of writing *Vorontzof*, as the russian pronunciation and orthography require, we often see *Woronzow*; instead of *Dasbkof*, *Dasbkaw*; *Korzakow*, for *Korzakof*; *Otchakow*, for *Otchakof*; *Azow*, for *Azof*; *Suwarrow*, for *Suvarof*, &c. It is an orthography entirely german, perplexing the english and french, by leading them to a pronunciation totally false and irreconcilable with these appellatives in their own languages.

The *w* of the Germans and English is not found in the russian alphabet: but a *v* reduplicated is frequently met with in compound words, which is by no means the same thing. Thus, we should write the word *Vvédénie* (introduction), composed of the preposition *vo* or *v* (in), and *védénie* (the act of introducing).

These

These few observations appeared to be necessary for guiding the reader to the pronunciation of the proper names of the persons and places that occur in the History of Russia. In this work, as well as in the View of the Russian Empire during the reign of Catharine II. and to the close of the eighteenth century, &c. the author has adhered to the Russian orthography as accurately as possible with our characters. *Strelitzes* has been retained for the militia *Streltzi*, *Tartars* for *Tatars*, *Mosco* for *Moskva*, *Kirghises* for *Kirghizzi-kaizaki*, and a few others of like nature, for the sake of euphony.

HISTORY

OF

R U S S I A.

THE russian empire, comprising not only a very considerable portion of Europe but likewise a third part of all Asia, was not always of such vast dimensions. Ancient Russia, the original ground-plot of the present monarchy, exceeding in magnitude every other that is mentioned in history, was the region of the Volkhof extending to the Dniepr; consequently those countries which have ever been and still are the seat of the principal nation of the empire; that is, the russian. All the other districts now belonging to it are the fruits of conquest.

Russia was even of old a very extensive empire, consisting of five main divisions, not differing in government but merely in their several frontiers. These divisions were: 1. Great Russia: 2. Little Russia: 3. White Russia: 4. Red Russia: and 5. Black Russia.

GREAT RUSSIA is said to have been so denominated from a great city or gardorik in Old Ladoga, where anciently the residence was, ere it was transferred to Novgorod. The frontiers of this district extended northwards to the White-sea; eastwards to the river Dvina, and to the entrance of the Petschora into the uralian mountains; southwards it bordered on White Russia as far as the Volga and the mouth of the Medveditza; westwards, on Lithuania and Prussia, including the tributary tribes on the Baltic as far as Memel *.

LITTLE RUSSIA. The borders of it to the north extended along the river Ager to White Russia; to the east above the Donetz and the Oka to the Polovtzes and the Petschenegans; to the south as far as the taurican Chersonese; to the west along the river Goryn to Red Russia. The residence of this grand principality was Kief †.

WHITE RUSSIA. The denomination of this division is derived by some from the white

* The ancient arms of this great principality represented the figure of a man standing with a club in his hand, resembling a Hercules: in after-times gates were added with three pinnacles, and in the centre gate stood a man with a club, as in the arms of Lubeck.

† The old arms represented a warrior on horseback, holding a sabre over his head, in a red garment riding to the right.

cloaths

cloaths that were in high esteem in the grand princely court; by others from the quantity of snow. Tatishchtschef is of opinion, that it acquired this name from the excellence of the country and its rich products. Concerning the borders and extent of it a diversity of sentiments prevails. The old russian authors comprehend under the name White Russia the polish and merashskian, or susdalian and rostovian portion, with the dominions thereunto belonging; to this they afterwards add the smolenskian or krivitschian, which formed a distinct dominion. The borders therefore extended northward along the Volga as far as Great Russia; eastwards bordering on the possessions of the Ugres and down the Volga to the mouth of the Oka on the territory of the Mordvines; southward, to the Oka, the principality of Riazan, and the kingdom of the Bulgarians, and afterwards as far as the river Voronezh. The oldest residence in the time of the samratian monarchs was the city Shuja; under Vladimir, Rostof; Yurie II. transferred it to Susdal; Andrey II. to Vladimir, and Ivan I. Kalita to Mosco*.

RED

* The ancient arms represent a white horseman, in a red field, holding a sabre before him. The grand prince Vassilly Dmitrievitch III. put a spear instead of the sabre,

RED RUSSIA (in rufs called Tschervonnaia from the city Tscherven). It borders to the north on the river Prepet and Black Russia; to the east running along the river Goryn to Little Russia; southward along the Danube to Hungary; and westward to Little Poland. In this division there was no general residence. The principality was at first in Vladimir, and was relinquished to Rostislaf, the son of Vladimir Yaroslavitch; hereupon it was removed to Peremyschl, lastly to Halitch, and split into several districts*.

and his grandson Ivan Vassillievitch III. after having subjected Kazan, added at the feet of the knight a winged dragon, (the arms of the kingdom of Kazan,) with its head thrust through by the spear, thereby to denote the subjection of that kingdom, and the union of it with the moscovian empire. Some erroneously suppose these arms to be those of the principality of Mosco; as the latter were, in the ancient times of which we are speaking, an unicorn fighting with a lion.

* The arms of it are not found in the russian annals; foreign authors assert, that at first they represented a naked man on horseback with a sabre, which was afterwards changed into St. George and the dragon. In a manuscript book of lithuanian heraldry it is a knight on horseback on a yellow banner, in a red dress, holding a sabre over his head, and riding to the left.

BLACK

BLACK RUSSIA. In the old russian histories this name is not mentioned; only the title of tzar Alexey Mikhailovitch runs thus: Tzar of all Great, Little, White, Red, and Black Russia." The boundaries of it were toward the north Lithuania as far as the river Vilna; eastward, the Dniepr or Beresa; southward, the Prepet and the territory of the Drevlians; westward the Bogue, and still farther*.

Such is the ancient division of Russia, according to Tatistschef, exclusive of the various tribes that joined it in the sequel, and whose territory was by no means inconsiderable.

In the first centuries of the christian æra several distinct swarms of people, of whom the principal were the Goths and Huns, habitually roved at large about those regions of the Dniepr and the Volkhof, where afterwards the russian nation took a consistent form. In the fifth century, while yet these people had no permanent seat, a horde of Slaves†, or, as they are vulgarly

* The arms of this division, according to foreigners, were a lithuanian knight, in a red field, on a white horse.

† In Russia only the Slavi dwelling in Novgorod were designated by that appellation; those in all other places bore various names, though they all originally sprung from the same hive. Of those who settled about the Dniepr some were called Polanes, others Goranes; Drevlians, from the

vulgarly called, Sclavonians, came hither from the Danube, and settled on the shores of the Dniepr, the Neva, and the Volkhof. Thus arose, about that period, in the region of the first-mentioned river, a flavonian state, the capital of which was KIEF *; but, concerning the circumstances

the forests in which they dwelt; Polotshanes after the river Polota; Sulanes from the river Sula; Buschanes from the Bugue or Bogue; and Severians because they had their seat to the north of all the others. Tatishch. ist. kn. ii. p. 4.

* Concerning the original building of Kief we have no authentic accounts: but from various circumstances there is reason to conclude, that it was founded prior to the christian æra by the Sarmates, the oldest inhabitants of those regions, and named Kief from its situation; kivi signifying in their language *mountain*; accordingly, the inhabitants of the city and territory were termed Kivi. The Slaves dwelling about the Danube, on being chased away by the Romans, withdrew to other places; some of them came to the Dniepr, where they settled after having subdued the sarmatian stems established on its shores. Those who took up their abode on the mountainous borders of the Dniepr were called Goranes, synonymous with the sarmatian word kivi; and those who settled on the plains were named Polanes: lastly, they who fixed to the north of the others obtained the appellation Severians (from *sever*, the north). Of their acts and their form of government nothing is come down to us: the story of the three brothers Küi, Schtschek,

cumstances and transactions whereof, history, for a course of several centuries is totally silent.

Only

Schtschek, Khoref, and their sister Lebed, the first of whom is said to have built Kief, being extremely fabulous. From our annals the kievian history begins to be somewhat more perspicuous about the middle of the ninth century. The Slaves for a long time had the lordship over the tribes inhabiting the district of Kief; till at length they themselves became tributary to the Kozares, who settled on the Dniepr. Exhausted by the heavy tribute imposed on them, they sent to Rurik at Novgorod to implore his help and protection. Rurik sent them Oskold, one of his nobles, or according to others his nephew, with a considerable army, who freed them from the control of the Kozares, and remained in Kief to bear rule over the inhabitants. Oleg, the guardian of the young Igor, a son of Rurik, on hearing the complaints of the Kievans against Oskold, and envying him likewise his territory, marched with his troops to Kief, and put Oskold to death. He established his authority in Kief, subdued several of the circumjacent tribes, and imposed on them a tribute. From that time this district obtained the name of Russia, and Kief became the capital of all south Russia; shortly afterwards the grand principality was also transplanted thither from Novgorod, and consequently Kief was the metropolis of all Russia. — By Ditmar's account it contained at that time 400 churches, 8 market-places, and an immense number of inhabitants. In the sequel, however, it was exposed to repeated calamities and devastations so as entirely to destroy its ancient splendor and magnitude. The present Kief
retains

Only about the conclusion of the ninth century we begin to learn more of the events of the flavonian nations residing here, as well as farther to the north and to the east, as now a grand revolution happened with another flavonian state, dwelling on the river Volkhof northwards, and whose capital was Novgorod *.

The history of NOVGOROD till the ninth century is not less unknown than that of Kief. It

retains no vestige of its magnificence and extent under the russian grand princes. Tatishch. ist. kniaz. ii. p. 354. Id. geogr. slovar. tom. iii. p. 196.

* Novgorod Severski, on the right and high bank of the river Desna. It anciently got the surname severski, because that part of the district of Kief lies to the north, (sever), and towards the Severians, a farmatian people. It was built in the year 1044 by the grand prince Yaroslav I. on his return from the expedition. In after-times it underwent several revolutions, and in 1223 was burnt by the Tartars. Among the mountains adjacent to the city on the left shore of the Desna, several remains of former towns are still to be seen; as the ditches and lofty ramparts with which they were surrounded. But how these towns were called, or when and by whom they were built, cannot now be known, as no tradition concerning them is anywhere extant among the inhabitants. The word Novgorod, by its signification, New-town, implies the existence of an older town, the ruins of which are supposed to be those at a little distance called Staroie Goroditschè, old rubbish of a town.

seems to have been always commercial: by its situation it was enabled to carry on an easy commerce with the people residing on both shores of the Baltic; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenneta speaks of its commerce with Constantinople in his days. This slavonian state, it is probable, continued some centuries as a republic, and was so formidable to the surrounding nations, that it was grown into a common expression: Who shall dare to oppose God and Great Novgorod! Towards the end of the ninth century, however, it obtained a ruler, and was changed into a principality. From this time forward the accounts of russian history assume a more authentic form. — Though the Slavonians in and about Novgorod composed a very considerable republic, and on various occasions were powerful enough to repel with impression the attacks and aggressions of the neighbouring nations, yet their power alone was not always sufficient for the defence of their country. The Tschudes and the Biarmians, two bordering nations, frequently made incursions on the novgorodian territory; and when, according to the then practice of war, they had ravaged and wasted wherever they went, returned laden with spoil. Pirates, likewise, from the other side of the Baltic, who in the northern language

language were called Varagians *, not less frequently made descents on their coasts and infested their country. As these Varages, however, were wont to enter into pay, and then fought against any to whom they were sent by their paymasters, they also came once to the assistance of the Novgorodians for a stipulated sum †. But, as on this occasion they got more accurately acquainted with the country, it pleased them so much, that, after the termination of the war, when they received their dismissal, so far from preparing to go back, they made dispositions for abiding where they were ‡. The leader of these Varages, RURIK, even built himself a town; his example was followed by two of his principal companions, who might also be his actual bro-

* People who went out upon piratical expeditions. Nestor expressly says, that there were swedish, norman, english, and russian Varages.

† In the years between 850 and 860.

‡ This is certainly the most probable way in which the Varagians became masters of Novgorod. It is indeed related, that the Novgorodians, wearied with their dissensions, sent to the Varages, intreating them to send over a governor, upon which Rurik came and landed with his brethren. But it is even barely credible, that a people should spontaneously send to their enemies to ask them for a ruler; especially as the history says, that the Varagians had formerly been driven out by the Novgorodians.

thers,

thers, as they are called in history. These proceedings must have appeared surprising to the Novgorodians, as they naturally expected that the Varages, who had been taken into pay, now that the war was ended and they had their wages, would reembark and cross the sea to their home. It was not long before that spirit of independance by which the Novgorodians had always been actuated, manifested itself in the displeasure they shewed at the protracted sojourn and the arrangements of these Varages, who, from being their mercenary troops, were now raising themselves into their sovereigns *. They had recourse to arms in order to repel force by force. A famous Novgorodian, named Vadim, who had acquired by his feats in war the honorable surname of the Valiant, put himself at the head of the incensed republicans. Rurik, however, and his companions were so far favoured by fortune, that Vadim, and several of the chieftains who were with him, forfeited their lives in this attempt to deliver their country from these ambitious guests. Rurik, by this unsuccessful enterprise, and from the fear he had everywhere inspired, found his consequence increased. He thought he might now venture farther than before, and fix his authority on a firmer basis.

* In the year 864.

He therefore removed his seat from the city of Ladoga which he had built *, to Novgorod itself, supposing the people sufficiently humiliated for testifying their desire to admit him as their sovereign. The event confirmed his expectations; nothing more was attempted against him; and the hitherto free novgorodian Slavi willingly acknowledged Rurik for their prince. On the death of his brethren and partners in the government, SINAUS and TRUVOR, which happened shortly after, he became sole monarch of the novgorodian state, and the founder of an empire, which not only maintained itself, and was continually enlarging for nine hundred years, but where a line of descendants of this Rurik

* Rurik built a town near the Volkhof, and surrounded it with a rampart of earth, now called Old Ladoga, Peter I. having raised a new town of that name at a little distance from the former. Here Rurik was able to keep in check the maritime people who might attempt to invade the dominion of Novgorod, by entering the Volkhof from the Ladoga-lake. Sinaus is reported to have taken up his residence at Bielozero, then situate on the northern shore of the lake of that name, and which Vladimir I. transferred to the mouth of the Chesna. From this place he could awe the Biarmians, who occupied a considerable tract of country from the lake Ladoga to the Dvina. Lastly, Truvor, who established himself at Isborsk near Pskove, was in a capacity to repulse the Tschudes, the ancient inhabitants of Livonia.

have

have sat on the throne, under various fortunes, through an uninterrupted succession of several centuries. Though by what means it happened that the inhabitants of this empire obtained their present denomination cannot certainly be ascertained; yet there is a probable supposition, that the greater part of those Varages, who came hither over the Baltic, already bore the name of Russians; that it was afterwards communicated to the nation at large, and so became the common appellative of it and the whole empire. Rurik, the first prince of northern Russia, remained in quiet possession of his sovereignty till his death, after a reign of seventeen years, in 879; whereupon Oleg, one of his relations, took upon him the government of the country; Igor, the only son of Rurik, being still in his minority.

No sooner was OLEG in possession of the sovereign power, than this first successor of Rurik ambitiously aimed at extending his dominion by an expedition against Kief, through the capture of which he united the flavonian territory to that of Novgorod. It is not unlikely, that after the death of Rurik the republican spirit of the Novgorodians broke out afresh; for though it had been restrained by the severity of the first prince, it was by no

means entirely suppressed, as it manifested itself even later for many centuries in succession; or perhaps likewise the Varages, enured to the sea, to war, and spoil, might want an occupation for their military disposition. — What then could Oleg do better than furnish employment to the Novgorodians and the turbulent Varages? He collected a numerous army, different in language and origin, Slaves, Tschudes, and Varages: carried with him the young Igor, opened the campaign, and by the way took Smolensk, the capital of the Krivitches, and Lubitch. The great number of towns that existed in Russia from the first periods of history are an evidence that the social state had been long making great progress in that country. It had been traversed by wandering nations, like torrents carrying terror in their course, and the ravages whereof are presently repaired by time and industry; but the Russians lived in permanent habitations on the cultivation of their lands and the produce of their flocks. Those towns, it is true, had no resemblance with the magnificent cities that are the ornament of Europe; the retreats of opulence and idleness, of talents and industry: but men who dwell inclosed within a circuit of rustic huts are already very far from the life of the savage.

These

These inferior conquests were not the main object of Oleg's ambition. The adjacent kievian state, likewise inhabited by Slavonians and governed by its peculiar princes, and the remoter grecian empire were the theatre which that monarch proposed for the martial spirit of the Varages, and the tumultuous bravery of the Novgorodians. He hoped to appropriate to himself Kief, and in the grecian empire to find at least considerable spoil. Inducement enough for undertaking an expedition. Having made himself master of Kief, it might conduct him to greater enterprises. Being advanced near to the walls of that city, he thought it not adviseable to risk the attack, and to leave to the capricious decision of arms the success of a project which wanted only a vile piece of artifice to render almost infallible. Leaving behind him the greater part of his troops, he concealed the remainder in the barks that brought them, disguised his name and his quality, and passed for a simple merchant whom Oleg and Igor had sent on matters of business to Constantinople. This stratagem is a proof of the commerce that subsisted between the Russians of Novgorod and the Greeks. Officers were dispatched on his part to present his excuses to the two princes Oskhold and Dir, expressing his concern that

an indisposition prevented him from waiting upon them, to ask their permission to pass through their territory to Greece, and requesting that they would come as friends and fellow-citizens to have a conference with him. The princes were free from mistrust; and, imagining they had nothing to expect but testimonies of friendship, they scarcely thought it necessary to take with them their ordinary attendants. But, no sooner were they arrived than they were surrounded by the soldiers of the perfidious Oleg, who sprung from the barks. He, thinking to colour an execrable act of treason by the interest of his ward, took Igor in his arms; and, casting on the sovereigns of Kief a furious and threatening look, "You are neither princes," said he, "nor of the race of princes; and behold the son of Rurik!" These words, pronounced with a terrifying voice, were the signal agreed on with his people: and scarcely were they uttered when the soldiers rushed upon the two brothers, and murdered them at the feet of Oleg.

Struck with amazement at this nefarious act, the parties into which the great were thrown by the vacancy now occasioned of the throne, and the dread of Oleg's power, soon opened the gates of Kief to the latter; and thus the two
flavonian

flavonian states were united under one head. In the hope of being better able to pursue his conquests in Greece from this place, than from the far more distant Novgorod, he here fixed the seat of his dominion; and having founded new cities, rendered tributary the Drevlians, of whom we shall speak hereafter, the Severians who dwelt to the north of Kief and the Radimitches*; having imposed annual tributes on different nations that submitted to him, consisting in furs or money†, he turned his arms against the grecian empire, to which he was an enemy not less dangerous than new.

Oleg's proceedings, hitherto, were only preparatory to the success of these ambitious designs. His views were directed towards Constantinople. Leaving Igor at Kief, the regent embarked

* Radimitches, a people descended from the Poles, and settled about the borders of the river Sosha. Some of them were likewise in the territory of Pereiyessavl on the river Pestichana, who perhaps came hither from the Sosha. Since their subjugation by the grand-prince Vladimir I. they have ever been under the sovereignty of the russian monarchs. Tatishchtschef takes them to be emigrants from the city Radom in the lesser Poland, and Boltin thinks this derivation much more probable than that from a certain Radim.

† That on Novgorod was fixed at 300 grivniks: a sum that we must suppose to have been considerable; but which we have no means of evaluating.

with fourscore thousand warriors, on board of two thousand vessels.

These navigations were very different from those of polished nations. They cannot be compared even with those of the ancient Normans who dwelt upon the sea-coast. The Russians could only enter the Euxine by the Dniepr or Borysthenes. They fell down that river with sufficient ease, till they came to the seven rocks which embarrass its course for the space of fifteen leagues; there began such perils, labours, and fatigues, as none but barbarians were able to brave. They were obliged to unload their barks and slide them over the rocks, by pushing them with their arms, and with the help of poles. At the fourth rock they carried the baggage for the distance of six thousand paces, crouching beneath the burden, and at the hazard of being every moment attacked by the Petchenegans, who were almost perpetually at war with them. At length having passed all the rocks, they were obliged to go with the stream, which, contracting its bed, interrupted their course, and exposed them to the attacks of their enemies. Being arrived at the mouth of the Borysthenes, they reached an isle which lies between the point of Otchakof and that of Kinburn, where they refitted their frail vessels, shattered by so difficult
a navy.

a navigation, and lay waiting for a favourable wind. They refitted them again when they had gained the mouth of the Dniestr. In this manner they entered the Danube when they wanted to make war upon the Bulgarians; it was thus they carried on their commerce; it was thus that, following always the eastern shore of the Euxine, Oleg came up before Constantinople.

He arrived at that strait on which was seated the imperial city, called by the Russians Tzar-grad, the city of the Cæsars. On hearing of his approach, to prevent his landing, they had here drawn a maffy chain across the harbour: a vain obstacle against barbarians, incited to a novel species of industry by the hopes of plunder. They drew ashore the vessels, or rather the light barks that had brought them. They made wheels which they fitted to their flat bottoms, and forced them, says the chronicle, to proceed by the help of sails along a road and on an element for which they had not been contrived; and they arrived in this strange kind of vehicle under the walls of the town. If it should seem doubtful that the troops of Oleg thus sailed by land, yet the horrors they committed are unhappily not so contrary to probability. The whole country round was ravaged; the houses were forced, pillaged, demolished or delivered a

prey to flames; the inhabitants of the country were loaded with irons, the women violated, children murdered at the breast of their mothers. The earth that had been fertilized by the sweat of the husbandman, was now drenched with their blood, and the sea, as one vast grave, received at once both the carcases of the dead, and the bodies of the living.

Leo, who was called the philosopher, because he applied himself to idle studies, and was employed in abstruse questions of theology, instead of fulfilling the duties of a sovereign, at that time reigned in Constantinople. It is pretended that he at first attempted to poison Oleg in some refreshments presented to him; but this not succeeding, he was obliged to purchase a peace at a stipulated price. He bound himself to pay 12 grivniks to each vessel belonging to Oleg, others say to each soldier, to maintain for six months such merchants as should come to trade in the empire; to furnish them on their return with provisions and necessaries for the voyage, and to exact no duties from them. The conqueror condescended to agree that those who were not engaged in commerce, should not have the right to demand the payment of their expences by the Greeks. Thus even the second sovereign of Russia made himself as formidable to the grecian,
yet

yet a christian empire, as in our days the russian fleets and armies have proved more than once to the sultans of Constantinople.

The emperor Leo was moreover obliged to raise contributions in behalf of several cities of Russia, governed by princes feudatory to Oleg.

The conquerors, satisfied with their spoils, returned to their country; and the cæsars of Constantinople, by this exorbitant purchase of a peace, invited the enemy to renew his visits for seeking an easy fortune in their empire. Oleg made his entrance into Kief laden with the wealth acquired by his victory; and the people, dazzled with such splendid objects, could not regard these successes as natural; but, imagining their prince to be endued with supernatural powers, they looked up to him with a reverence approaching to adoration.

Oleg, thinking that the treaty of peace he had concluded with the Greeks might have been made still more to his advantage, a few years afterwards sent deputies to the emperor with a treaty for him to sign, containing some articles of importance, which he pretended had been omitted through haste. This treaty being preserved in the old chronicle of Nestor, the reader will not be displeased to see the substance of it here. It is of value, as presenting to us some customs of
the

the times in which it was negotiated, and as proving that the Russians had already laws. Those historians, therefore, are in an error, who attribute their first laws to a prince, a century posterior to Oleg.

Here follow some of the articles that were respectively signed by the sovereigns of Constantinople and of Kief.

II. “ If a Greek commit any outrage on a
“ Russian, or a Russian on a Greek, and it be
“ not sufficiently proved, the oath of the accu-
“ ser shall be taken, and justice be done.

III. “ If a Russian kill a christian, or a chris-
“ tian kill a Russian, the assassin shall be put to
“ death on the very spot where the crime was
“ committed. If the murderer take to flight
“ and be domiciliated, the portion of his for-
“ tune, which belongs to him *according to law*,
“ shall be adjudged to the next of kin to the
“ deceased; and the wife of the murderer shall
“ obtain the other portion of the estate which, *by*
“ *law*, should belong to him.

IV. “ He who strikes another with a sword,
“ or with any other weapon, shall pay three
“ litres of gold, *according to the russian law*. If
“ he have not that sum, and he affirm it upon
“ oath, he shall give the party injured all that he
“ has, to the garment he has on.

V. “ If

V. “ If a Russian commit a theft on a Greek,
“ or a Greek on a Russian, and he be taken in
“ the fact and killed by the proprietor, no pur-
“ suit shall be had for avenging his death. But
“ if the proprietor can seize him, bind him, and
“ bring him to the judge, he shall take back the
“ things stolen, and the thief shall pay him the
“ triple of its value.

X. “ If a Russian in the service of the em-
“ peror, or travelling in the dominions of that
“ prince, shall happen to die without having
“ disposed of his goods, and has none of his
“ near relations about him, his property shall be
“ sent to Russia to his heirs; and, if he have
“ bequeathed them by testament, they shall be
“ in like manner remitted to the legatee.”

We see then that the Russian laws laid great stress on oaths, a character always observable among people in a state of simplicity. They pronounced the sentence of death against the murderer, and in this respect were wiser than those ancient laws, which by inflicting only a pecuniary mulct, left the rich at liberty to be guilty with impunity. Wives had a part of the estate of their husbands. The punishment did not involve the entire confiscation of goods, and the widow and orphan were not punished for the crime of which they were innocent. Robbery
which

which attacks only property, was punished by the privation of property, and the law maintained a just proportion between the penalty and the crime. The citizens, secure in their possessions, were under no apprehension that the sovereign would seize upon their heritage, and might even dispose of their effects in favour of friendship. Lastly, since the Russians made testaments, the art of writing was not unknown to them.

The names of the ministers who negotiated the two treaties of peace between Greece and Russia are preserved. As neither of these names are related to the flavonian language, it appears that the Slaves of Novgorod, when they invited foreign princes to them, had preserved no share in the administration: the Varagians alone were in possession of all places of trust, and the ancient masters of the country had only to obey them. Hence it was that discontents arose under the reign of Rurik, and doubtless they had not entirely subsided under the administration of Oleg.

Oleg governed thirty-three years the dominions of which he was only the trustee: there were doubtless at that time neither laws, nor usages holding the place of laws, that could force him to surrender the sovereign authority to his ward. Besides, we shall see, as we proceed, that the Russians were averse to being governed

by young princes; a dislike which, for several centuries, established among them a right of succession very different from ours.

IGOR I., not on the expiration of his minority, but at Oleg's death, succeeded to the throne in 913, at the age of near forty years. Several of the nations who had submitted to Oleg, now thought to recover their liberty, and free themselves from the tribute that had been imposed on them by him. But Igor soon shewed them that he was not disposed to let that be ravished from him which had been left him by his kinsman; on the contrary he augmented their burdens. The Drevlians, who rose the first, were quelled before they had time to prepare for a defence, and the only fruit of their revolt was the payment of a heavier tribute.

The Uglitches, who dwelt towards the southern bank of the Dniepr, contended longer for their liberty against the voyevode Sventilde, whom Igor had dispatched against them. One of their principal towns, named Perefetchen, held out a siege of three years; and at last submitted to a tribute of a marten skin, blackened by fire; and this tribute Igor entirely relinquished to their conqueror*.

* Martens and fables are more esteemed in proportion to the darkness of their colour.

915. In the mean time a nation hitherto unknown, quitted the banks of the Yaik and the Volga to make an attack upon Russia. It was the Petchenegans, who proved afterwards inveterate enemies in disputing for that dominion. Igor, surpris'd, and but little able to resist, avoided to put the event to the decision of arms, and therefore concluded a peace with them; which was not however of long duration; for five years after he was forced to engage with them, and if he failed to subdue them, he at least for a time disabled them from giving him any farther molestation.

But these victories of the Russians, gained over people still poorer than themselves, living only by agriculture and their droves of cattle, might flatter their pride and employ their turbulence, but could not satisfy their avarice. Their military ardor was more vehemently excited by the riches of the eastern empire, where trade and commerce, arts and culture flourished. Here the labour and expence of a campaign would be richly repaid.

It was there that Igor, after the example of his guardian, hastened to commit depredations; for what other name can be given to wars undertaken from the thirst of gain, and contrary to the faith of treaties? Ten thousand barks were employed

employed in transporting his army. Nestor informs us that each of these barks contained forty men; accordingly the russian prince must have been at the head of four hundred thousand warriors, which has the appearance of exaggeration. It was not the practice in those times, previously to issue declarations of war, with specifications of injuries received, whenever a design was on foot for invading a neighbouring nation. That, however, would in this case have been no insurmountable difficulty, as politicians of ancient and modern times have always been able to veil their proceedings under a thousand specious reasons, and to represent every war as necessary and just. Igor, regardless of the treaty entered into by Oleg, in 941 set sail for Constantinople. His sole aim, that of his chieftains and of his whole army, was plunder, where and of whatever was to be found in the enemy's country. He overran and ravaged Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Bithynia. The troops of the empire were at a distance; he met with no obstacle to his career; but it seemed as if the want of resistance increased the impetuosity of his rage. The Russians spared none of the wretches that fell into their hands; some were crucified, others impaled, cut in pieces, buried alive: others were suspended to gibbets, for amusing the brutal soldiers

foldiers, in making them the but of their arrows. They sought out especially and seized the priests, tied their hands behind them, and drove with their maces long nails in their heads. Flames and long tracks of blood every where marked their passage, and the whole scene evinced the rage of a ferocious conqueror who found no enemies.

While they were wallowing at leisure in blood, time was afforded for taking measures against them. The report of these horrors arrived long before himself at the capital of the empire. The Greeks were roused from their slumber at the accounts they heard; and this time they fought not to purchase peace, but to fight for it. Armies were assembled and approached from all parts; and the Russians being surrounded, atoned with their blood for the blood of their victims. Having lost great numbers of their people, they could with difficulty open a passage to their ships. But new disasters awaited them there. The patrician Theophanes, who commanded the grecian fleet, attacked them by surprise in sight of the Pharos, and increased their dismay by throwing among them that unquenchable grecian fire, perhaps less dangerous than terrific, but with which these barbarians were not
yet

yet acquainted *. They plunged into the sea, to avoid the fires that threatened and pursued them. Their vessels, dispersed, shattered, consumed by the flames, went to the bottom. Most of the men sunk with them, and others were taken prisoners. The remainder of this formidable army took to flight, and spread along the coasts of Bithynia. Here they were met by the

* The Greeks had the art of preparing a fire, composed of an inflammable substance, which spontaneously kindled on falling on combustible matter, and consumed every thing it could come at. Even water, so far from extinguishing this fire, only supplied it with fresh force and aliment. Nothing but vinegar, sand, oil, and wine, are said to have had the property of restraining its ravages. It was kept in glass or earthen vessels, and these vessels were thrown at the enemy's ships, against which it was particularly employed, though it was also used in engagements by land. The invention of this murderous fire is attributed, but without foundation, to Constantine the Great. The art of preparing it has by degrees been entirely lost: a loss not at all to be lamented, as there are still horrid instruments of murder enough in the hands of mankind for the slaughter of each other. During the reign of Louis XIV. of France, the art of ingeniously murdering was particularly improved, and new attempts were made at preparing this fire; however, they did not succeed. More lately a Frenchman has pretended to have recovered this art. Its motion or tendency is said to be contrary to that of natural fire, and always follows the direction in which it is thrown; whether it be downwards, sidewise, or otherwise.

patrician Phocas, who attacked them with his troops, not numerous, but well chosen. Great numbers again fell in this action, and others fled; but fear prevailed so far as to prevent them from preserving any order in their retreat. Several of their scattered platoons fell by the sword, or were taken prisoners by the reinforcements that arrived.

The Russians regained their ships, not daring any longer to appear on shore, and weighed anchor under favour of the night. But the patrician Theophanes pursued them, attacked them afresh, burnt and sunk several of their remaining barks; and, by the confession of the Russian chronicles, Igor scarcely took back with him a third part of his army.

Though weakened and almost overthrown, he did not yet lose courage; or rather the hope of spoil was superior in his breast to all objects of fear. In 944 he collected new forces; he even took into pay his natural enemies the Petchenegs, and again set out for Greece; but he scarcely advanced farther than the Chersonesus Taurica. Romanus, who had usurped the throne of the cæsars, being informed of the approach of the Russians, sent messengers with offers to pay him the same tribute that Oleg had imposed on his predecessors. Igor hesitated. It is reckoned a sort of disgrace by ignorant and
barbarous

barbarous people, to acquire without destroying. Determined, at length, by his council not to refuse the offers of the emperor *, he retired, and sent the Petchenegans to ravage the country of the Bulgarians.

At his advanced age it seems natural that he should have been desirous of repose. But, solicited by the leaders of his troops, whose insatiable rapacity was ever craving fresh spoils from vanquished nations, he resolved to turn his arms against the Drevlians, and to subject them by force to a tribute more considerable than that he had already imposed. Being successful again in this war, he returned loaded with the contribution he had exacted of the people. But the little resistance he had met animated him to another attempt, another act of injustice. Dismissing, therefore, a great part of his troops, with the spoils of the vanquished, he himself, but indifferently attended, returned to carry ravage and desolation into the country of the Drevlians, who were already tributary to him, in the hopes of obtain-

* The speech which Nestor gravely puts into the mouth of Igor's counsellors is not deficient in eloquence. " If Cæsar make such proposals," said they, " is it not better to get gold, silver, and precious stuffs without fighting? Can we tell who will be the victor, and who the vanquished? and can we enter into a covenant with the sea? We march not on land; we are borne upon the abyss of the waters, and are menaced by one common fate."

ing yet another contribution. His first demand was double tribute ; and on its being freely complied with, he insisted on a threefold payment. For enforcing his orders, however, he imprudently advanced into the country, and, hurried on by blind self-interest, not knowing whether or not he had any danger to apprehend from so depressed an enemy, the unhappy Drevlians, become desperate by repeated outrages, sprung from an ambuscade, fell upon him and killed him. “ This is a mere wolf,” said they, “ who “ begins by stealing the sheep one by one, and “ then comes to fetch away the whole flock : “ he must be knocked on the head.” This happened in 945 in the neighbourhood of Korosten, one of their towns *.

* Korosten, a town of the Drevlians, now Iskorosch, on the river Uscha in the circle of Ovrutsch. Prince Igor I. was slain and buried here in the year 945. His wife Olga, who revenged the death of her husband on the Drevlians, caused, after the custom of those times, a very high hill to be raised on the grave, which M. Tatishchev saw in the year 1710, and says, in his account of it, that he had nowhere beheld any one of equal magnitude, except that in the village of Tzarevtschina near the Volga, at the mouth of the river Soka. In the year 946 Olga set fire to this town and destroyed it. Tat. ist. kn. ii. under the year 946, p. 40. See also Inquiries concerning the Sarmates, book iv. p. 154. at the article touching the Drevlians, printed in french at Warsaw, 1789.

This murder was dreadfully revenged on the whole nation, and particularly on the inhabitants of the town of Korosten, by OLGA, Igor's widow. Igor had taken Olga to wife during the life-time of his guardian Oleg, who caused that princess to take his name, as a token of the friendship he bore her.

Whence she derived her origin is uncertain. Nestor only says that the nation requested Oleg to marry his ward, and at the same time presented to him Olga, who was of Pscove. By this we are to understand, that she was of the country where afterwards she herself laid the foundation of that city.

The fragment of a chronicle, the authenticity whereof is however greatly suspected, makes her come from Isborsk in the same country, adding that she was grand-daughter of Gostomuisl, chief magistrate of Novgorod, in the time of the republic, and that she was called Prekrasna, which signifies very beautiful.

Igor had by Olga one son, named Sviatoslaf, who was still very young at the death of his father. Olga took the reins of government, assisted by the counsels and the valour of that Sventeld whom Igor had so generously rewarded for his courage at the beginning of his reign.

The first care of the regent was to avenge the death of her husband on the unhappy Drevlians, who had been guilty of nothing but a just defence. Their name, derived from a word which signifies wood, sufficiently testifies that they inhabited a country covered with forests*. They continued long the most savage of the nations of flavonian origin, living like the tenants of the wilderness, owning no form of government, and even having no idea of the conjugal union. But in the times of which we are speaking they cultivated the land, had towns, and were governed by a prince named Male, who, thinking it a favourable opportunity for aggrandizing his dominion, made an offer of his hand to the regent. He sent ambassadors to Olga, who, after making a description of the person

* Drevlians, a flavonian people, so called from the forests which they inhabited. Their seat extended along the river Pripet, where several of the towns formerly belonging to them are still in being; as, Ovrutsch, Iskorosch, anciently Korosten. The Romans denominated this the woody district. The Drevlians had at first their own princes; but, after the victory gained over them by the grand princess Olga, they were incorporated with Russia. On the death of Sviatoslaf I. his son Oleg was prince of the Drevlians; after he was slain they had no longer any peculiar prince, but were united with Kief, except the single city of Tures, which formed a distinct principality. Tat. Slovar, tom. ii. p. 175.

and

and qualities of their master, by no means such a ferocious monster as her late husband had been, they opened their commission. Olga seemed not averse to the proposal, but caused the messengers of this first embassy to be executed, as she did also a second more considerable deputation that had been requested by herself; and, after using all possible precaution that no report of the murders committed on the people of the two embassies should reach their ears, she set out herself to the Drevlians. Here likewise seeming inclined to comply with the reiterated offer, she caused a solemn entertainment to be held, at which some hundreds of the principal Drevlians were assassinated by her orders. This, however, was but the first scene of her horrible vengeance; for now the whole country, and especially Korosten*, in the

* Her army for a long time could not master the place, the inhabitants made a valiant defence, actuated by the dread of the horrible fate that awaited them from the revengeful spirit of Olga. At length Olga gave them the promise of clemency on condition that they sent her all the pigeons of the town. This being done, Olga caused lighted matches to be tied to their tails, and let them fly. The pigeons sped away to their usual places of resort in the town, and consequently set it on fire. The inhabitants running out fell into the hands of the lurking Russians, and perished by their swords at the command of Saint Olga.

neighbourhood whereof Igor had lost his life, was cruelly ravaged, and the nation with little difficulty subdued. Infamous and shocking as this transaction of Olga was, it was no impediment to her parading in the venerable muster-roll of saints of the russo-greek church, having title sufficient to the worship and veneration of christians as the first monarch of Russia that submitted to be baptized. This solemnity was performed at Constantinople. But her example had so little effect on the heathenish Russians, that even her son, notwithstanding her zealous sollicitations and remonstrances, persisted immovably in the pagan belief of his fathers, though from reverence to his mother he allowed her to keep christian priests *. And so little impression had the conversion of his mother to christianity upon him, that he neither followed her example in that nor in her concern for the real benefit of the nation, though Olga by various methods endeavoured to shew him in what the duty of sovereigns consists. She travelled with him round the country, caused

* Sviatoflaf prohibited none from allowing themselves, as particular persons did, to be baptized. But he had no good opinion of the christians in general, and particularly thought the christian soldiers were cowards—perhaps because the christian Greeks were not always famed for courage.

bridges to be built in several places, and roads to be made for the convenience of trade and commerce, constructed towns and villages, and founded such laudable institutions as evince that she had some knowledge of what a ruler ought to be to his people. It is about this time, 947, that she is supposed to have founded Pscove.

The imperial throne was at that time filled by Constantine Porphyrogenneta; and the russian chronicles fail not to observe, that at her baptism there he was so smit with the elegancies of her person and mind that he made her offers of marriage. But this anecdote is amply refuted by Constantine himself, who informs us that the empress was yet alive *: he also particularizes the honours which he paid to the russian princess. It was the emperor who led Olga to the baptismal font and gave her the name of Helen. He dismissed her loaded with rich presents, among which were vases of great price, and a quantity of those fine stuffs which were then fabricated only in the east. From the time of Oleg's administration some degree of luxury seems to have prevailed at the court of Russia.

Baptism, however, apparently wrought but little change in the insidious and artful temper which

* Constant. de cor. aul. Byzant. lib. ii.

the historians ascribe to Olga. In return for the honours and benefits she had received at Constantinople, she promised to send the emperor furs, wax, and troops. That prince some time afterwards dispatched an embassy to remind her of her promises: but the ambassador was answered with witticisms, and dismissed with frigid compliments. It may here be remarked, that in the age of which we are writing the greek emperors had always Russians in their armies, and especially in their fleet.

Few of her subjects received baptism; and though these were not exposed to bloody persecutions, they became the object of raillery to their fellow citizens. Religious societies increase by vexations, but not by contempt. "Would you have me be a laughing-stock to my friends?" returned Sviatoslaf to the pious exhortations of his mother.

According to most of the chronicles Olga founded churches: but if we believe the most ancient of them all, she had even priests only in private. Her religious zeal had nothing inviting in it for men always busied in traffic or war; and the martial enthusiasm of her son held out to them prospects of which they had a higher idea than of a reputation for sanctity so easily acquired as hers.

SVIATOSLAF

SVIATOSLAF I. her son, however, had no inclination for the calm and quiet affairs of government: his cares were not directed to the culture of that country of which he was already in possession; he was not employed in forming projects for the convenience and improvement of the national commerce within or without; it was no object of his concern to transplant foreign knowledge into his dominions: his heart was always set upon conquest, and on enlarging the borders of his territory. Instead of forming by good institutions a permanent basis for the prosperity of his subjects, in his opinion spoil was the easier and speedier way of enriching himself and his soldiers, and accordingly his sole occupation was war.

It is not precisely known at what time Sviatoslaf took in his own hand the reins of empire; but the most probable opinion is, that they were remitted to him by his mother at her departure for Constantinople on the business of baptism.

Before we follow him in his battles we will consider him for a moment in his ordinary course of life. There we shall recognise the manners of the ancient Scythians, those of several of the tartar hordes at present, in short, the primitive manners of all nations: they likewise serve to
shew

shew that the real wants of life are extremely few.

Though during the former years of his reign we do not find that he had any war to carry on, his first care was to collect an army, not so formidable by its numbers as from the ferocious courage of its soldiers. Considering the narrow enclosure of a palace as nothing better than a splendid prison, he chose for his habitation a camp: his troops, in their frequent and rapid movements, were followed by no kind of equipages; and the prince refused to have any himself. Without an utensil for preparing his meals, or a vessel for boiling his victuals, he contented himself with cutting up the meat that was intended for his food, and to broil it himself upon the coals, in nearly the same manner as the heroes of Homer lived. But one thing which Sviatoslaf had not in common with them was, that he frequently made his repast on the flesh of a horse. By this manner of life, conformable to that of the Kalmuks, he was enabled like them to carry on war at a distance without any embarrassment or concern for the subsistence of his army; since the same animal that carried the warrior afterwards served him for food.

This

This hero, who kept so poor a table, was not more delicately lodged; having no tent, but living in the field, no better provided than any other soldier, with a saddle for his pillow, a horsecloth for his covering, exposed to all the inclemencies of the atmosphere, lying on the bare ground, or at most spreading under his body a piece of the coarsest felt, dressing his own victuals like the common warrior, he gained the attachment of the army to an uncommon degree. The men willingly shared dangers and death with a leader * who submitted himself without exception to every hardship, and denied himself every accommodation. By this means likewise his marches were much lightened, as the advances of the soldier were neither retarded or encumbered by any baggage. The first war undertaken by this prince was against

* He is reported once thus to have addressed his Russians previous to a battle with the Greeks: "If we should
" even disregard the ignominy of flight before a people
" whom we have humbled by our conquests, yet here,
" where there are no means of retreat, we must fight whether
" we will or no. Let us, therefore, rather stand firm and
" leave our bones here than shamefully run away. I will
" go before you; always follow me. Should I lose my
" head, you may then take care of yourselves as you can."
To which his soldiers unanimously replied: "Where thou
" leavest thy head there will we leave ours."

the

the Kozares, a people antiently of such great renown, that the Orientals imagined them to be descended from Kozar, whom they gave to Japhet as his seventh son. These fabulous traditions, and which at first strike us as ridiculous, give some idea of the antiquity of the nations to which they relate, and of the consequence to which they had attained.

It is thought that the Kozares were of turkish origin. They gave their name to the Caspian, which in the persian authors is called the sea of the Kozares. They came in swarms down the sides of Mount Caucasus in the sixth century, and took possession of the eastern shores of the Euxine *. Their alliance was courted by an emperor

* Concerning the origin of this people authors are divided; some deriving them from the Scythians, others from the Sarmates, and others again from the Slaves and Turks. The first of these opinions seems the most credible; as Nestor held them to be of the same pedigree with the Bol-yares inhabiting the parts contiguous to the Volga. In times of remotest antiquity they were perhaps even Sarmates; but, by their long cohabitation and commixture with the scythian races, they adopted much of the character, language, and manners of the latter; and should therefore be considered as a distinct people originating from two several nations, as the Rossianes from the Slaves and Russians. The ancient seats of the Kozares were about the shores of the khvalinskian (caspian) sea, where first the Khvaliffes

emperor of Constantinople, and they gave an asylum to one of his successors. After having

Khvalissies resided, and were expelled by them. When they took their homeland they adopted also their name, being for a long time called Nether-Bulgarians; afterwards, from their piracies on the khvalinskian sea, they were called by the Persians, Kozares, i. e. robbers; and under this appellation they first appeared on the frontiers of Russia. From the point of time at which our history begins, we find Kozares on the shores of the Dniepr, the Dniestr, and the Bogue, quite along to the Euxine. They subdued all the slavonian and sarmatian stems who lived on the borders of those rivers; among it whom were the Polanes and Goranes. Oleg exempted the Polanes from the tribute. The Kozares, who now felt the predominant power of the Russians, moved down the Donetz, and concluded an alliance with the Greeks. These sent them architects, who built and fortified their capital Sarkel (Belaia Vesha). The Kozares at that time extended their possessions farther in the region of the Palus Maeotis. The grand prince Sviatoslaf defeated them in the year 965, took their capital Sarkel, made himself master of their territory, captured several other towns, among which was Tmutarakan, and thenceforward the Kozares were no longer of any consequence. Their principal settlements were: 1. above the Oltey, where they built a city, which they named after the former, Belaia Vesha: 2. in Kief and other cities. However, even after Sviatoslaf a part of the Kozares remained in Belaia Vesha on the Dniepr, and in a few other places; but these in the year 1117 went to Russia, where they were settled as colonists by command of the grand prince Vladimir II. Tat. ist. kn. i. p. 216. Kn. ii. p. 6. 45. 220.

subdued

subdued the southern regions of Russia between the Tanais and the Borysthenes, they made themselves masters of the tauridan chersonese. We have seen that the people of Kief were for some time their tributaries; Sviatoslaf took arms against them only for transferring to himself the tribute that was paid them by the Viatitches, a flavonian nation that dwelt on the borders of the Oka and the Volga. He defeated them in a pitched battle, and afterwards took their capital city, which in their language was called Sarkel, and to which the russian chronicles give the name of Bela-vefs, the white town *. No mention is henceforward made of the Kozares; but perhaps the relics of this nation are afterwards spoke of under the name Turkomans, who inhabited the same districts that had been occupied by the Kozares.

In the mean time the Ungrians fell upon the roman territory, and received secret succours from the Bulgarians, the treacherous allies of the empire. Nicephorus Phocas implored against the latter the arms of Sviatoslaf, and purchased

* From the byzantine historians we learn that "the Kozares, in the time of Igor, not being completely subdued by the Russians, but his son and successor Sviatoslaf entirely annihilated them in a pitched battle about the year 966, and took their capital Sarkel, or Belaya Vefs, or Belgorod, by storm." Byz. hist. p. 7172.

these succours by subsidies. There was no difficulty in engaging in such an enterprize a prince who was ever in quest of battles. He captured most of the towns belonging to the Bulgarians along the Danube, and resolved to establish on the shores of that river, in the city of Pereiaslavetz, now Yamboly, the seat of his empire.

But, while he was thus eagerly pursuing fresh conquests, he had nearly lost his family and his ancient capital. The Petchenegans came in great numbers, and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to Kief. Princess Olga and the sons of Sviatoslaf were in it. The city, closely blockaded by the enemy's troops, could admit no refreshments, nor give notice of the danger by which it was menaced. Within its walls were defenders enough for braving the attacks of the Petchenegans; yet if they had no apprehensions from the arms of the enemy, they could not but foresee in the approaching deficiency of provisions and water, as certain a death. A general named Prititch attempted to succour the place: but, alarmed at the superior numbers of the enemy, he stopped short on the opposite bank of the river.

Sensible, however, of the urgent necessity of putting all to the hazard, and judging that any timidity of conduct would infallibly draw upon

him the resentment of his sovereign, Prititch embarked his troops at break of day. The shouts of the soldiers, and the sound of the trumpets, answered by the military instruments of the town, struck terror into the minds of the Petchenegans. Barbarians making all martial excellence to consist in braving death, keep up no intelligence with the enemy, and are consequently ignorant of all that passes among them. The besiegers, thinking no less than that Sviatoflaf himself was arrived with the whole of his army, ran off in haste. Thus the town was saved; and the princess-mother, with her grandchildren, walked out of it before her deliverer.

The prince of the Petchenegans requested to have an interview with Prititch, who, in the parley that followed, easily persuaded him that he had only got the start of his master who was shortly expected. The two warriors at parting made mutual protestations of esteem, accompanied by presents. The prince gave Prititch a horse, a sabre, and a bundle of arrows; and the latter prevailed on the prince to accept of a cuirass, a buckler, and a sword.

In like manner the heroes of Homer never part without interchanging the pledges of esteem; and thus it appears, that at certain periods of their history all nations are alike. The history
2 of

of a people, from the time of its origin to its most flourishing state and to its fall, would be that of mankind. That epocha of the russian history which we are now surveying, corresponds with those heroic ages that are so splendidly decorated by the grecian poets, famous for the art of embellishing whatever they described.

Sviatoslaf having intelligence of the incursion of the Petchenegans, hastened to the spot, defeated them, pursued them, and granted them a peace.

But no sooner had he restored security to his country than he made preparations for returning to the banks of the Danube, where he determined to fix the seat of his empire. Hither he fetched gold, precious stuffs, fruits, and wines from the Greeks: Hungary also supplied him with gold and horses; and he caused wax, hydromel, and furs to be brought him from Russia. It was with difficulty that his mother, who perceived her end approaching, could detain him with her. She died at an advanced age; and the russian church has since numbered her with the celestial advocates as an object of adoration to the end of time. Sviatoslaf resumed his former design; and, reserving to himself the sovereign power, partitioned his states among his children. He gave Kief to Yaropolk, the

country of the Drevlians to Oleg, and sent to Novgorod, Vladimir, a natural son born to him by one of the attendants of Olga. This example of partitioning the country was too frequently followed by the successors of Sviatoslaf, and at length brought Russia to the brink of ruin.

Satisfied with having thus provided for the internal administration of government, he began his march against the Bulgarians *. It should
be

* This nation had extended itself along the Don and the Yaik, about the Volga and the Kama, and carried on a great trade to Persia, in the Bukharèy, to India, Greece, and even to Italy and France, by the Euxine. They also traded considerably with the Russians, and through them with the northern nations. Bulgaria was therefore in a manner the emporium of the european and asiatic commerce. The bulgarian empire came afterwards under the dominion of the Tartars, and when the Russians conquered the Tartars, to Russia.

Their country on the Volga was rich and extensive: the name is not taken from the Volga, which was anciently called Raa, or in Arabic Idel, but either from their famous and large city Belgard, or because they denominated themselves Billirians. The borders of it extended along the Volga, from the mouth of the Oka downwards to the Khvalisses, or Nether-Bulgarians, where, as we learn from the ancient writers, they had their peculiar sovereigns: the Ares, or Votiaks, along the Kama, were under their supremacy. How far it reached westward and by the Don is not known: the Tschheremisses and Tschuvafches, however,
were

be observed, that on coming to the assistance of Kief he had brought with him all his forces, and consequently abandoned the whole of his conquests, secure of regaining them at any time with ease. Such is the method pursued by barbarians in carrying on war ; and all nations have once been barbarians.

The Bulgarians suffered Sviatoslaf to advance to the walls of Pereiaslavets, and there rushed upon him with no less fury than courage. The Russians, repulsed, thinned, and already defeated, thought of nothing but defending their lives ; or, taking succour from despair, to sell them as dear as they could. Their force now seemed to increase with their efforts ; the astonished conquerors fell back, were confused, dispersed, and surrendered to Sviatoslaf both the victory and their town. He regained possession of Bulgaria, and committed greater havoc there than he had done before.

In the mean time Nicephorus was assassinated by John Zimisces, who succeeded him. It was now discovered that it was the last emperor who

were subject to them. The language of the Bulgarians was the sarmatic. History speaks likewise of the Serebranin (silver) Bulgarians ; but their station cannot be ascertained. Slova, part. i. p. 172.

had himself called in the Russians to Bulgaria; but they had agreed not to keep it for themselves; and, in breach of their promise, they appeared firmly resolved to maintain themselves in it. To this they were excited by a patrician named Kalocer. It was he who had treated with them in the name of Phocas; and, having formed the intention to employ their arms for raising himself to the imperial throne, he thought their aid not dearly purchased by the relinquishment of Bulgaria to them*.

The interests of this patrician coincided with those of Sviatoslaf, who wished to see on the throne of Constantinople a man placed there by himself. Accordingly the Russians refused to listen to the ambassador of Zimisces, who insisted on their adhering to the terms of the treaty, by evacuating Bulgaria.

The grecian emperor was preparing to open the campaign at the return of spring; and Sviatoslaf, in order to be a match for him, joined to his own troops the subjected Petchenegans, Hungarians, and Bulgarians, and thus had the command, it is said, of three hundred thousand men. He made an incursion into Thrace, burnt and ravaged whatever he met, and set up his camp before Adrianople; but he

* Script. hist. Byzant.

was defeated by a stratagem of the commandant of that town.

The Russians, however, remained masters of Pereiaslavetz; and Zimisces, in the view of driving them thence, marched against them himself the following year. The city was taken by assault; but eight thousand Russians discomfited the troops that opposed themselves to their impetuosity, and threw themselves into the royal citadel. It was held to be impregnable; but the besiegers succeeded in setting it on fire. No resource being left to the wretches within, many of them leaped from the summit of the rock, the greater part perished in the flames, and the remainder were carried into captivity.

The Russian prince had not shut himself up in Pereiaslavetz: afflicted though not desponding at the loss of the city, he kept the field with some troops, and exhibited a dreadful example of ferocity, by causing three hundred Bulgarians to be slain, of whose fidelity he entertained some suspicions.

The emperor followed up his victory and made himself master of several towns. Durostole on the Danube was the most considerable of those that yet remained, and it was easy to foresee that the Greeks would lose no time in commencing the siege of it.

Accordingly, after an obstinate combat, in which the Russians were at last repulsed, it was blockaded by land and by sea. The scarcity of provisions in the city was increasing from day to day ; but the Russians, though continually more harrassed, shewed no abatement of courage : they made frequent forties, which only added to their losses ; and Sviatoslaf, in one of these fights, with difficulty escaped captivity.

His counsellors advised him to sue for peace ; but he preferred death to any degree of submission. He ordered a general fortie to be made the next day ; and having no hope but in victory, he forbade any return, and ordered the gates to be shut as soon as the soldiers were out of the town. His commands were executed : but after the most obstinate resistance, the Russians were beaten and dispersed, and Sviatoslaf was reduced to the necessity of applying for peace. This victory appeared so important and so difficult in the eyes of the Greeks, that they thought they could do no less than ascribe it to a miracle. They pretended that Theodore the martyr had fought for them on a white horse.

If we may rely upon Nestor, the Russians were always victorious ; but perhaps here it would be preferable to take the narrative of the Greeks, as better agreeing with the miserable end
of

of Sviatoslaf. If he had been conqueror, would he have retreated into Russia badly attended? Would he have abandoned Bulgaria, the price of so much blood? What the russian chronicle relates of the treaty of peace, proves almost to a certainty that Sviatoslaf was vanquished. He makes imprecations against himself if he should break the peace; he wishes that himself and all that belong to him may perish by their own swords as a punishment on their perfidy. This surely is not the haughty style of a hero, dictating his terms.

By Nestor's account, Sviatoslaf, the victor, had only ten thousand men. According to the historians of Byzantium, Sviatoslaf, the vanquished, had three hundred thousand men before Adrianople, and three hundred thousand more in the battle near Durostole. It may be supposed that the Greeks were desirous of increasing their fame, by exaggerating the forces of their enemy, and that Sviatoslaf, who had brought few troops out of Russia, found his army increase on the way by the junction of all those barbarians whom the hope of plunder would allure to his standard. The same may be said of the divers nations that ruined the roman empire: each of them seemed exceedingly numerous when engaged in action, because a crowd

crowd of other nations took part in its enterprise.

In short, whether victor or vanquished, Sviatoslaf, very badly attended, regained the road to his ancient territories. It was to no purpose that one of his boyars represented to him the danger of going up the Borysthenes: he embarked. The Petchenegans, being informed by the Bulgarians of the route he had taken, waited for him near the rocks, by which the famous cataracts of that river are formed. Hither being come when autumn was far advanced, he was obliged to pass the winter there, and had to experience all the horrors of famine. On the return of spring, having no other resources than what arose from desperation, he attempted to open himself a passage through the ranks of his enemies, but was defeated and killed; and his skull, ornamented with a circle of gold, was used as a goblet by the prince of the Petchenegans, after causing it to be inscribed with the following sentence: "In seeking the property of others thou didst lose thine own."

Svenald, the same voyevode who had advised Sviatoslaf to return by land to Russia, was scarcely able to regain Kief with the shattered remains of the army, where he informed Yaropolk of the death of his father.

Sviatoslaf

Sviatoslaf was undoubtedly a hero ; that is, the great man of the ignorant and barbarous ages, when grandeur consisted solely in military renown, in the effusion of blood, in the desolation of countries, in ravages, destruction and ruin. His history, to the exception of a few circumstances, may serve for that of all those savage heroes, become famous by the demolition of the roman empire, or by the distresses they brought upon mankind. The same manners, the same views, the same contempt of fatigues, of toils and death : barbarians combining with other barbarians ; traitors, who, like the patrician Kallocer, sacrifice their country to private schemes of ambition, and facilitate the success of those conquerors, devoid of art, but eager for enterprise ; who command troops without discipline, but also without fear, and almost without wants : chiefs and warriors, whose ferocious valour is the more formidable, as they risk only their life, and have none of those superfluities to lose which are become necessary, and even dearer than life, to a people softened by culture, and polished by education. Such is the picture of conquerors and foldiers in barbarous ages. Thus, by reflecting on a single historical passage, much time and trouble may be saved in the study of general history : as from a solitary fact we may draw all the instruction

instruction that a multitude of nearly similar facts can supply: in short, by generalising a small number of strokes that relate to the history of man, we learn more in a few hours, than from long studies, spent in dwelling coldly on a tedious string of particulars from which no useful result can be drawn.

However, though this campaign against the Greeks was attended with this unfortunate catastrophe, yet Sviatoslaf, particularly by the abovementioned conquests in Bulgaria, as well as by other victories over smaller nations, both consolidated his power and considerably enlarged the russian territory.

YAROPOLK I. The sons of Sviatoslaf preserved the sovereignty of the countries which their father had left among them. Yaropolk, prince of Kief, perhaps ambitious though inactive, intrepid though without vigour of mind, entirely delivered up to those who had designs on his favour, was at once incapable of forming of himself a criminal design, and capable of committing the crime to which he was once incited. Oleg, prince of the Drevlians, is only mentioned in history as having perpetrated a base assassination. No species of guilt could affright the obdurate soul of the sovereign of Novgorod, the ambitious Vladimir.

Svenald,

Svenald, the companion and the counsellor of Sviatoslaf, had continued his attachment to Yaropolk. The son of this Svenald, being once in a hunting party, was met by the prince, who learning that the hunter was the son of a man whom he had apparently some reason to hate, fell furiously upon him, and slew him with his own hand.

The unhappy father, thirsting for vengeance, studiously fanned the ambition of Yaropolk, and succeeded so far as to make him take up arms against Oleg. The prince of Kief entered the territory of the Drevlians: the armies of the two brothers met: that of Oleg was defeated, himself obliged to fly, and crossing a bridge on which the fugitives had thronged, was thrown into the river, where he was not so much drowned as smothered under the men and horses that fell upon him. Remorse now took possession of the heart of Yaropolk; he enquired after Oleg, he threw himself, weeping, on the insensible remains of the brother whom he loved because he was no more, and vented his passion in accusations on himself and Svenald.

But he had already taken possession of the heritage of the man whose death he deplored. Vladimir, in a state of despondency, retired to
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the Varagians. Yaropolk seized on the estates which his brother had abandoned, and distributed them under his voyevodes.

Vladimir, though a fugitive, without domains, and without an army, yet never renounced the design of recovering and aggrandizing his power. He asked and obtained assistance of the Varagians, and re-entered Novgorod with as few obstacles as if he had left it only to go on a party of hunting. The voyevodes of Yaropolk opposed to him no resistance. On sending them back to his brother, he charged them to tell him that he should soon make him a visit at the head of a powerful army.

Yaropolk had asked in marriage the daughter of Rogvolode, prince of Poltesk or Polotsk. That city, situate on the Dvina, afterwards gave its name to a palatinate of Poland, and has recently returned under the dominion of Russia. It is one of those which Rurik bestowed on the commanders of his army. If Rogvolode was descended from him to whom Rurik gave Polotsk, it will follow that this prince distributed towns among his chieftains with the rights of sovereignty. But the chronicle rather gives us to understand that Rogvolode took possession of Polotsk by right of conquest. Its expressions
are :

are: "He came from beyond the sea, and had
" Poltesk for his dominion *."

However this be, Vladimir at the same time demanded the same princess. The father, unwilling to restrain the choice of his daughter, consulted her on the subject. "I will never," said she, "unboot the son of a slave: I make
" choice of Yaropolk." It was at that time the custom for young married girls to pull off the boots of their spouses on the wedding night. It is to be observed that the prince of Novgorod was son of Malucha, the housekeeper to Olga.

The vindictive Vladimir, on being informed of this insulting answer, marched against the prince of Polotsk, defeated him, killed him and his two sons with his own hand, and forced the young princess to receive his hand, yet reeking with the blood of her father.

Upon this he advanced towards Kief. Here nothing was in readiness to oppose his attacks. A villain named Blude, a voyevode of Yaropolk's, loaded with his bounties, but already sold to Vladimir, contrived to lull his prince into a profound security. In the mean time the

* Polotsk is one of the oldest towns of Russia. At the partition made by Vladimir I. his son Isiaslav had Polotsk, whose descendants long reigned there as princes.

town, which was naturally strong, by the bravery of its inhabitants made a stout resistance. The traitor Blude, perceiving this, found means to raise suspicions in the breast of his master against the citizens of Kief, and persuaded him to take to flight, while it was yet in his power, if he would avoid being surrendered into the hands of his brother. The inhabitants, deserted by their prince, were obliged to admit his rival.

Yaropolk, perpetually pursued by his brother, besieged, blockaded in his new retreat, a prey to all the horrors of famine; and what was even worse, still abandoned to the counsels of the wretch who had obtained his confidence for the sake of betraying it. He might have found an asylum among the Petchenegans; but he chose rather to throw himself into the hands of Vladimir, who was anticipating his pleasure in the blood of his victim. Some Varagians murdered Yaropolk while he was running for refuge into the arms of his barbarous brother.

Doubtless the blood of Oleg cried for vengeance against the prince of Kief: but Vladimir ought not to have punished the crime of a weak and timid soul by an atrocious and premeditated assassination; nor was it by fratricide that fratricide ought to have been punished.

VLADIMIR

VLADIMIR I. The wife of Yaropolk was a greek woman of great beauty : she had been a nun. Sviatoflaf, who had found her among his prisoners, gave her to the eldest of his sons. She happened to be pregnant when Yaropolk was killed, and was compelled to share the bed of the murderer of her husband. Vladimir immediately acknowledged the child in her womb : it was Sviatopolk, worthy of the murderer who gave him being, and the assassin who adopted him.

It was to Blude, the infamous and false friend of Yaropolk, to whom Vladimir was indebted for his nefarious successes. Accordingly, for three days, that prince shewed him great honour, and accumulated the prime dignities on his head. But that term being elapsed : “ I have fulfilled,” said he, “ my promise : I have treated thee as
“ my friend ; thy honours exceed thy most sanguine wishes : to-day, as judge, I condemn
“ the traitor and the assassin of his prince.” Having uttered these words, he put him to death.

The Varagians had re-instated Vladimir on the throne of Novgorod, and had followed him against his brother : on this plea they thought they had the right to require that he should oblige the inhabitants of Kief to pay them a tri-

bute. Vladimir, being at that time not sufficiently strong for venturing to offend them by a downright refusal, amused them by promises, found reasons for asking delays, to which they assented, and during these he put himself in a condition to be afraid of them no longer. Upon this they narrowed their demands, and asked only permission to go and seek their fortune in Greece. He gladly complied with their request, retained the boldest of them in his service, and privily advertized the emperor of the departure of the rest, praying him to cause them to be arrested, and to disperse them in several parts of his dominions, that they might be incapacitated from exciting apprehensions either to Russia or to the empire. An example of the lot of those who, by the services they render to a powerful man, give him reason to perceive that they may awaken his fears.

It would be needless to dwell upon all the warlike expeditions of Vladimir. Of what importance at present are these exploits: people reduced to the obedience of Russia, from which they had withdrawn during the misfortunes of Sviatoslaf and the dissensions of his sons: other nations rendered tributary: conquests obtained from Metchislaf, king of Poland, which were still retained by Russia towards the close of the

11th century: victories gained over the Yatviges, a bold and hardy race, inhabiting then the confines of the Bogue, and now, like many other nations, effaced from the earth: and on the eastern side the great Bulgarians who dwelt in the districts which now form the government of Kazan, vanquished, and compelled to take the oath of fealty. What now remains from these great feats of arms? Just what will remain from those wars of which we are the actual spectators; countries devoid of the generations consuming by their ravages.

Let it suffice that Vladimir resolved to return thanks to the gods for the success they had granted to his arms, by offering them a sacrifice of the prisoners of war. His courtiers, more cruel in their piety than even their prince, persuaded him that a victim selected from his own people would more worthily testify his gratitude for these signal dispensations of Heaven. The choice fell on a young Varagian, the son of a christian, and brought up in that faith. The unhappy father refused the victim: the people enraged, as thinking their prince and their religion thus insulted at once, assailed the house; and, having beat in the doors, furiously murdered both father and son, enfolded in mutual embraces.

Thus it was that Vladimir thought to honour the gods. The zealous Olga had never been able to induce her son to embrace christianity, and her grandson Vladimir was of all the russian princes the most bigoted to idolatry. He augmented the number of the idols of Kief; he commissioned Dobryna, his uncle by the mother's side, to raise a superb statue at Novgorod to the deity Perune; his offerings enriched both the temples and the priests of his gods, while his zeal inflamed that of the nation. But the grandeur of the russian monarch was already so conspicuous, as to strike the eyes of the neighbouring princes. All of them courted the friendship of Vladimir, and dreaded his arms: each was in hopes of fixing his attachment by the ties of one common religion. Accordingly he received, at almost the same time, deputies from the pope, or rather from some catholic prince who wished to attract him to the church of Rome; persons from great Bulgaria, exhorting him to embrace the doctrines of Mohammed; and, it is even said, that some Jews, established among the Kozares, came to expound to him the law of Moses. But none of these deputies had any success. A mission more fortunate was that of a Greek, whom the chronicles call a philosopher, and

and yet perhaps he was not one. If he did not induce Vladimir to embrace the greek ritual, at least he succeeded in making him think favourably of it, and returned to his country loaded with presents.

The discourse of the Greek had made a lively impression on the mind of the prince; and, desirous of gaining farther information concerning the various systems of faith of which the missionary had spoken while recommending his own, he dispatched ten persons, in high reputation for wisdom, to observe in the countries where each was professed, the principles and the rites of these different religions.

These men repaired first to the Bulgarians, eastward of Russia, but they were not very sensibly struck with the devotion of the Manichees, or the mohammedan worship: thence they proceeded to Germany, coldly considered the ceremonies as performed by some vulgar priest in taudry trappings in the poor latin churches there, and could take no interest in a sect which shewed so little magnificence, with its motley round of unmeaning gesticulations in its offices of worship. But when these barbarian sages were arrived at Constantinople, when they saw the imposing splendor of religious adoration, amid the gorgeous decorations in the proud basilicum of

St. Sophia, they felt immediately touched by celestial grace, and confessed that the people whose religion displayed such pomp must have the sole possession of the true belief.

Their imagination still heated with the pompous spectacle of which they had been the astonished beholders, they returned to Vladimir, speaking with scorn of the latin ceremonial, and describing with enthusiasm what they had seen in the imperial city. They thought themselves, they said, transported into the skies, and requested permission to return to Constantinople to receive the initiatory sacrament into so magnificent a religion.

The grandeur of their recital made an impression on Vladimir. The boyars of his council, who easily read what was passing in his mind, exclaimed, that the greek religion must unquestionably be the true one, since the wise deputies had extolled it so much; and that, if it had not been the best, so prudent a princess as Olga would never have embraced it*.

These

* This story, in conformity with the chronicles, is not therefore the less doubtful. In a greek MS. belonging to the colbertine library, published by Bandurius, the same facts are related at the reign of Basilus the Macedonian. Thus it would relate to the conversion of Oskhold and Dir, in whom the first dynasty of the sovereigns of Kief ended.

These arguments determined Vladimir to be baptized. But unfortunately he had no greek priests at hand. To ask them of the emperor was a sort of homage, at the very idea of which his haughty soul revolted. He conceived a project worthy of his times, of his country, or perhaps only of himself; it was to commence a war against Greece, and by force of arms to extort instruction, priests, and the rite of baptism.

No sooner had he formed the design than he prepared for its execution, raised a formidable army, selected from all the nations of which his empire was composed, and repaired to the Chersonese, under the walls of Theodosia, now called Kaffa*. If we give credit to one chronicle, he put up this prayer; “ O God, grant me thy
 “ help to take this town, that I may carry from
 “ it christians and priests to instruct me and my
 “ people, and convey the true religion into my
 “ dominions!” He laid siege to the city, destroyed the adversaries, lost a great number of

We have seen that this conversion had but little influence on Russia, which in fact did not become christian till after the baptism of Vladimir.

* A maritime town in the peninsula of the Krimea, encompassed with lofty battlements, turrets, and a deep ditch, which was lined with stone. Bosch. Tsch. p. 32.

his soldiers, and thousands of men were destroyed, because a barbarian would not suffer himself to be christened like an ordinary person.

However, after carrying on the siege for six months, Vladimir had made no progress: he was even threatened with being obliged to raise the siege, and was in great danger of never becoming a christian. But a traitorous citizen, according to some it was a priest, tied a letter to an arrow, and shot it from the top of the ramparts. The Russians learnt by this paper, that behind their camp was a spring, which by subterraneous pipes was the sole supply of fresh water to the besieged. Vladimir ordered this source to be sought out: it was found; and, by breaking these channels, subjected the town to the horrors of thirst, and forced it to surrender. Being in possession of Theodosia, he was master of the whole Chersonnese.

In consequence of his victory, it was in his own choice to receive baptism in the manner he desired. But this sacrament was not the sole object of his ambition: he aspired to an union by the ties of blood with the Cæsars of Byzantium. As was the case with most of the princes who adopted christianity, so here political reasons had at least an equal influence with devotion ;

tion; and when Vladimir was baptized at Korfun*, a town of Greece, in 988, and married Anna the sister of the grecian sovereign, it was as much his intention by this match to acquire a claim upon the grecian empire, as by his baptism to have pretensions on the kingdom of heaven. Persuaded that his name excited too much awe to run any hazard of a refusal, he sent to the emperors Basilus and Constantine to demand their sister in marriage, accompanied with the threat that, if they dared to reject his proposal, he would treat their capital as he had treated Theodosia. After some deliberations and scruples conditions were hazarded: it was required at least that the russian prince should make the first advance by becoming a christian.

* Korfun; thus the Russians anciently called Kherson, a city in the Krimea, where the grand-prince Vladimir I. caused himself to be baptized, after having conquered the place in the year 988. Soon after this he went back to the Greeks, as he had married the emperor's sister. Concerning the situation of Korfun there is not the slightest doubt remaining, it being in Taurida between Sevastopol (formerly Achtiar) and Balaklava near the sea: ruins are still seen there; and M. Boltin, from whom I borrow this note, had a drawing of them in his possession. Tatitschef is mistaken in supposing this to be a fiction of the author of the *Bolschoi Tschertesh*, in his *ist. kn. ii. p. 407, 408.*

At

At length, being too weak to prolong the altercation, the greek emperors conveyed to him the princess their sister, who was not much flattered by the conquest she had made.

Vladimir then listened to some catechetical lectures, received the rite of baptism and the name of Basil, married the princess Anna, restored to his brothers-in-law the conquests he had recently made, and brought off no other reward of his victories than some archimandrites and popes, sacred vessels and church-books, images of saints and consecrated relics.

At his return to Kief his mind was wholly intent on overthrowing the idols which but lately were the object of his adoration. As Perune was the greatest of deities to the idolatrous Russians, it was him that Vladimir, after his conversion, resolved to treat with the greatest ignominy. He had him tied to the tail of a horse, dragged to the Borysthenes, and all the way twelve vigorous soldiers, with great cudgels, beat the deified log, which was afterwards thrown into the river. Nothing can more strongly mark the character of Vladimir than this conduct, alike brutish in worshipping a mishapen block, and in thinking to punish the insensible mass for the adorations he had lavished upon it.

Perune,

Perune, though beaten and drowned at Kief, without working one miracle, was not quite so patient at Novgorod. When the idol had been precipitated from a bridge into the Volkhof, it rose to the surface of the water, and, throwing a staff upon the bridge, cried out in a terrible voice, "Citizens, that is what I leave you in remembrance of me." The story is preserved in the chronicles of Novgorod; and, in consequence of this stupid tradition, the young people of the town, on the day which had been kept as the anniversary of the god, used to run about the streets with sticks in their hands striking one another at unawares: but this ridiculous custom has long ceased.

People in a low state of civilization have too few ideas for acquiring a strong attachment to any religion. Thus the Russians easily abandoned the worship of their idols: for, though Vladimir caused it to be published that those who should persevere in idolatry should be regarded as enemies of Christ and of the prince, it does not appear that Russia underwent any persecutions, and yet it soon became christian: of such force was the example of the sovereign. At Kief he one day issued a proclamation ordering all the inhabitants to repair the next morning to the banks of the river to be baptized; which
they

they joyfully obeyed. "If it be not good to be baptized," said they, "the prince and the boyars would never submit to it."

Vladimir, in the sequel of his reign, had frequent wars to conduct; but especially against the Petchenegans. In one of the incursions made by that people, the two armies were on the eve of an engagement, being separated only by the waters of the Sula, which falls into the Dniepr in the south of Little Russia. The hostile prince advanced, and proposed to Vladimir to spare the blood of their subjects and decide the quarrel by single combat between two champions. The people whose foldier should be vanquished should be bound to abstain for three years from taking arms against the other nation.

The russian prince very faintly accepted the proposal; because he had no foldier robust enough for being opposed to the champion of the Petchenegans. When the day appointed for the combat was arrived he was obliged to solicit a farther delay. This he obtained, though without foreseeing what advantage was to be derived from it: a prey to uneasiness and vexation, he could scarcely call up one glimmering hope. He was in this agitation of mind, when an old man, who served in the army with four of his sons, came and told him that he had still a fifth son

son at home, endowed with prodigious strength. The young man was sent for in haste. Being brought before the prince, he desired permission to make a public trial of his force. A vigorous bull was irritated with red-hot irons: the youth stopped the animal in his furious course, knocked him down, and tore off his skin. This experiment gave the prince just ground of hope. The time fixed for the duel arrived: the champions advanced between the two camps, and the Petchenegan could not restrain a disdainful smile on beholding the apparent weakness of his beardless adversary. But being presently attacked with no less impetuosity than vigour, seized and pressed, as in a vice, between the arms of the young Russian, he was extended expiring on the dust. This fact, which has certainly a very fabulous air, seems confirmed by the testimony of polish writers: but these might have taken it from the chronicle of Nestor, who was not unknown to the ancient historians of that nation. Perhaps it may have been no more than a single combat agreed upon by the two contending princes for settling their dispute, the circumstances of which were afterwards embellished with strokes of the marvellous, as has happened at early periods among all nations.

However

However it be, the Petchenegans, seeing their challenger fallen, were struck with terror and took to flight. The Russians profited by this confusion, pursued them and committed great slaughter. The quarrel, however, having been decided by the combat, each of the two armies ought in justice to have peaceably retired. But at that time no regard was paid to justice in battles. No laws of war existed; and even those since framed are of doubtful interpretation.

The victorious champion, who was only a simple currier, was raised with his father to the rank of nobility, and gave his name to the town which the prince caused to be built on the spot where the duel was fought. It was called Pereïaslavl*.

We

* Pereïaslavl is situate between the rivers Trubesh and Alta. The period when it was founded is lost in remote antiquity: it was known as early as the year 907, as, at the treaty of peace then made with the Greeks, Oleg comprehended this city in the number of those which had sworn to pay tribute. In subsequent times it underwent many disastrous revolutions. The first prince of this city, Boris, sainted by the greek church, was killed by his eldest brother Sviatopolk I. in the year 1015, three versets from Pereïaslavl on the river Alta. In 1080 the polovtzián prince Sokal burnt all the houses and carried off the inhabitants prisoners. In 1096 the polovtzián prince Tugor khan laid siege

We should be inclined to suppose that the Petchenegans, with whom the treaty had been so badly observed, would not have been afraid to infringe it in their turn. However, they did not again take up arms till three years were at an end : they then laid siege to a town which Vladimir was endeavouring to succour ; but being defeated and wounded, it was only by hiding himself under a bridge that he saved his life.

This prince, whom fortune almost always accompanied, and who was rarely deserted by victory, had his last days embittered by domestic vexations. The death of a son and of a wife were painful tributes paid to nature : but a tri-

siege to it, but was repulsed with loss. Lastly, in 1239 it was taken, plundered, and set on fire by the troops of the tartar khan Baaty, so that none of the old buildings are remaining. — The above city must not be confounded with Pereaslavl-Saleskoi, which stands on both sides of the river Trubesh. It was built in the middle of the twelfth century by prince Igor Vladimirovitch Dolgoruky, on receiving as his portion from his father the principality of Suzdal, to the territory whereof this city belongs. Vsevolod Igorievitch grand prince of Vladimir, fortified and embellished it with a great number of buildings about the end of the same century. From that time Pereaslavl formed a distinct principality, dependent on the grand principality Vladimir. On the invasion of Baaty it experienced a similar fate with Vladimir and the other cities.

bulation

bulation more afflictive still awaited him. Yaroslav his son, to whom in the distribution of his domains he had given Novgorod, refused to pay the tribute he owed him as his vassal, and applied to the Varangians for assistance against his father. The aged Vladimir, obliged to march against a rebellious son, died of grief upon the road, after having reigned forty-five years. If we recollect that he imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother Yaropolk, we shall not think his end unworthy of him.

This guilty prince, however, had great qualities: if he was not able by his courage to repress his turbulent neighbours, he generally defeated the purpose of their incursions. He was liberal to his poor subjects: those who could repair to the palace of the prince had their wants supplied, and partook of a plentiful table spread for them under a tent; and carriages were appointed to carry relief to the houses of such as were sick. He caused deserts to be cleared by colonies established for that purpose: he built towns, whereof one, to which he gave his name, long since fell, with all Volhynia, under the dominion of Poland.

While he was rendering his country more flourishing, he thought it his duty to provide for its embellishment, and invited from Greece ar-

chitects and workmen eminent for their skill. By their means he raised edifices, churches and palaces, on plans that were at once elegant, convenient and substantial. The young nobles were brought up in seminaries endowed by the prince, to which his bounty had attracted able masters from Greece. Parents saw with horror these strokes aimed at ignorance, and the honours that were paid to foreign services. It was necessary to use violence in taking their children to place them in the new establishments. It may be, after all, that the old ignorance was preferable to the metaphysical futilities which at that time were the whole study of the Greeks, and which they brought into Russia. The darkness which covered it was scarcely less thick over all the rest of Europe. But if Vladimir could nowhere kindle the torch with which he wished to enlighten his subjects, he merits commendation at least for having been desirous to instruct them. He remained a barbarian because he lived in an age of barbarism : but had he lived in the seventeenth century, it would perhaps have been him who had polished Russia. It is never possible for a man to rise far above his contemporaries. Voltaire, in the eleventh century, would have been only the most ingenious of the troubadours : Newton would have been employed in calculating

lating the influences of the planets on political events, and on the characters and the lives of princes: Peter I. would perhaps have equalled Vladimir only in his ferocity*.

Vladimir, who waded through the blood of his brother to the throne of Kief, received from his nation the surname of the Great, and was advanced to the rank of a saint; nay, they put him on a level with the apostles, and style him the Solomon of their country. He was the first christian prince of Russia, and raised the christian religion to the religion of the empire. Indeed in the former years of his reign nothing was less likely than that the christians would make a proselyte of him, who was one of the most zealous adherents to the ancient flavonian idols, and sedulously kept his subjects to their accustomed idolatry. Vladimir was not only the monarch by whom Russia obtained christianity, and by whose means some seeds of moral and intellectual improvement were sown among the people, but this prince had shewn himself prior to that as a conqueror, and caused several of the neighbouring nations to feel that his subjects were a brave and warlike people. He carried on wars with the Poles and Petchenegans, the Khazares† and

* Levesque, *histoire de la Russie*, tom. i. p. 162.

† Neighbours to the kievian state.

the Bulgarians, and forced them to be tributary to him. He reduced the modern Galicia and Lubomiria (at that time Halitsch and Vladimir) to his authority. He conquered Lithuania as far as the Memel, together with a part of the present Livonia. Like Sviatoslaf, he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his army, and preserved it by his general practice of distributing whatever of gold and silver and other spoils he brought away from the enemy's country, by following their customs, and eating among them with a wooden spoon. But all these conquests were made by him prior to his acquaintance with christianity. Such a change was wrought in him afterwards in this and many other respects, that the historians of that time are at a loss for words sufficiently strong to express their admiration of it. If before he had, besides five wives and eight hundred concubines *, taken also women and girls wherever he would, yet after his baptism he contented himself with his christian spouse alone. — If as a conqueror he had caused many drops of innocent blood to be shed, and set a very low value on the life of a man, yet, having adopted the religion of Jesus,

* Might it not be partly from this resemblance that he obtained the name of Solomon?

he felt uneasy at sentencing one highway robber to death, of whom there were many at that time; and, as we read in the chronicles, exclaimed with emotion on such an occasion, "What am I that I should condemn a fellow-creature to death!" As his delight had been before in storming towns and obtaining battles, he now found his greatest pleasure in building churches and endowing schools. He likewise encouraged the raising of new towns and cities. He peopled waste districts of his empire with the prisoners he had taken in war, secured his frontiers by fortified towns, after the methods then in use, against hostile attacks, and behaved in general not only as a sovereign who consulted the welfare of the country, but exhibited many good qualities that must have endeared him to his subjects. On great festivals, as we have already seen, he entertained the inhabitants of Kief, and to those, who from disease or infirmity could not attend the public feast, he sent victuals and drink at home. All this is sufficient proof, that even such knowledge of christianity as had fallen to his lot, and perhaps it might have been imperfect enough, was not entirely fruitless to his understanding or his heart. It must also have tended greatly to win over the people from the old religion, and habituate them to the new one,

one, that the now christian prince was not only a milder but a wiser ruler ; for it may be affirmed, that he considerably enlarged the territory of Russia, made the empire respected by the neighbouring nations, as well as provided internally, in various ways, for the benefit of the country and its inhabitants. But likewise under him, and by his means, the grounds were laid for future broils at home, when Russians unnaturally fought against Russians, when the state was divided into petty principalities by the avarice and family-disputes of the princes, and, by commotions and wars thence arising, was exceedingly weakened, and fell into danger of being entirely effaced from the rank of empires, and of becoming a prey to the neighbouring nations and princes.

Pardonable as it may be in a sovereign, as a father, to wish to deal equitably by all his sons, by allotting to each of them a share in the government, yet the partitioning of an empire into several small parts can never be justified in a political light. The power which, united in a single hand, and dependent for its application on the will of a sole governor, may effect purposes of uncommon magnitude, must, by a distribution among several, be greatly weakened, and the weight of such a state be considerably

P 3

diminished

diminished in the political balance. Add to this, that so long as men are men, and princes are only men, a partition of this kind must usually be the means of sowing discord and destructive feuds. Each party will readily give entrance to the thought that he is not so well provided for as the others; and the natural consequences are, disunion, contention, and war. That Vladimir should have thought of such a partition is the more to be wondered at, as he having several sons, the portion of each must be proportionably small, and he knew by experience the woeful effects produced by the dismemberment which his father adopted. It was not unlikely, however, that this partition might have been attended by consequences less pernicious if Vladimir had given to each of his sons his share, independent on the others, and not required all the younger princes to pay obedience to the grand-prince reigning at Kief, for hence arose the main disagreement. Each of them aspired to the paramount throne of Kief, in order to enjoy the prerogatives annexed to it, for which each of them envied the grand-prince; and he, on his part, went too far in his demands on the other princes. By a partition with equal rights, Vladimir would have prevented the ambition of the former, and the inordinate encroachments of the other.

other. But he lived long enough to witness the ill consequences of his partition. His son Yaroslav, whom he had made prince of Novgorod, on condition that he remained subordinate to him as grand-prince *, and paid him certain tributes, soon refused to acknowledge this dependance, and to pay him the stipulated tribute. Vladimir had formed the resolution to assert his authority by force of arms, but died at Bereftof, in 1015, before the war broke out.

At a time when the number of the saints was multiplying everywhere, and the celestial courts were so rapidly filling with new legions of this species of beings, when, amidst the general ignorance and depravity the reputation of sanctity was easily acquired, we can see with a good humoured smile such a prince as Vladimir inserted among the ministry of the kingdom of heaven †.

SVIATOPOLK

* The sovereign of Novgorod and Kief was the first who assumed the style of grand-prince. It was afterwards adopted by the prince of Kief, because the other princes were dependent on him. But as in after-times a prince occasionally declared himself independent on the grand-principality of Kief, he also assumed the title of grand-prince. Thus it came about that there was a grand-prince of Susdal, of Vladimir, of Halitch, of Tver, and of Mosco.

† The empress Catharine the second instituted an order of knighthood in his honour, on the 22d of September 1782. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia,

SVIATOPOLK I. Sviatopolk *, one of Vladimir's sons, who was at Kief when the news came thither of his father's death, might have long been revolving in his mind to raise himself, after that event, to be grand-prince of Kief, then by artifice or violence to put his brothers out of the way, and so become sole monarch. He now resolved to put his plan in execution. He was afraid of none of his brothers more than of Boris, who, from the good qualities which he possessed, enjoyed the affection of his father in a very eminent degree, and was also extremely beloved by the nation. Assassination was the me-

about 20 miles from St. Petersburg. The insignia are an eight-pointed star, interchangeably of gold and silver, having a red area bearing a cross, with the russian letters C. P. K. B. Svætago Ravnoapostelnago Knæsa Vladimira, i. e. the holy apostle-like prince Vladimir. On the badge are the words, Polsa, Tšchest i Slava—Utility, Honour and Fame : with a ribbon of two black and one red stripes. The number of knights in 1790 was 716. See *Life of Catharine II.* vol. ii. p. 416. and vol. iii. p. 19. 3d edit.

* It is conjectured that Sviatopolk was not really the son of Vladimir ; for when the latter caused his brother Yaropolk to be murdered, and then took his widow to him, living with her as her husband, she might have been already pregnant, and Sviatopolk therefore Yaropolk's son. If this supposition be well founded, Sviatopolk revenged cruelly enough the murder committed by Vladimir on his father.

thod this rival pitched upon to clear his way. Boris was then gone with his army against the Petchenegans, and there received the tidings of his father's death. Had he been of an enterprising spirit, complied with the intreaties of his soldiers, at whose head he then was, and employed their assistance to place himself on the throne of Kief, the expulsion of Sviatopolk would have been easy to him. But he rejected the advice of his army, declaring it to be but just that the eldest brother should succeed to the paternal throne. The consequence of this generous sentiment was, that the army forsook him, and the assassins commissioned by his brother dispatched him in his tent *. Two others of the brethren

* A faithful Ungrian endeavouring to preserve his life threw himself between to save him, but was likewise killed. Boris, when led to Sviatopolk shewed still some signs of life, on which the latter immediately ordered him to be dispatched. Sviatopolk wrote to Gleb, a second brother, that the father was sick and wanted to speak to him. Gleb hastened with all diligence, was thrown from his horse, and continued his journey in a litter; but presently learnt that he had been miserably deceived. An order given out by Sviatopolk for the murder of Gleb by whoever should find him, occasioned his own cook to stab him in the breast with a knife. Both brothers were enrolled by the church in the calender of saints, and consequently wrought many miracles. A third brother was brought back on his flight to Hungary, and likewise put to death.

met a similar fate; and all the rest had the same to apprehend.

YAROSLAF, prince of Novgorod, ventured, however, to oppose force by force, and to frustrate the schemes of the ambitious and cruel brother. Aided by the Novgorodians, in 1016 he drove Sviatopolk from Kief, who fled to Poland, and took refuge with his father-in-law, the duke of that country. Boleslaus was easily persuaded by his son-in-law to accompany him with an army into Russia, hoping to reap advantage from the quarrels among the brothers, and on this occasion to enlarge his country on the Russian borders. Kief was retaken by the Poles, whom Boleslaus himself commanded, and Sviatopolk in 1017 set up again. Yaroslaf, now deposed, fled with all speed to Novgorod before the victorious fratricide. But thinking himself not safe even here, while he was taking measures for a farther flight across the Baltic, the Novgorodians furnished him with a testimony of their attachment, (a proof at the same time of his being an amiable ruler,) by not only unrigging the ships which were in readiness to convey him away, but even raised contributions amongst themselves for taking auxiliaries into pay, to assist their expelled prince to recover the grand principality of Kief. This was greatly facilitated

cilitated to them by Sviatopolk himself. He had, probably for saving the expence agreed on for the polish auxiliaries, secretly given orders to murder them one by one. An act of ingratitude which needs not excite our surprise in the murderer of three of his brothers. Boleslaus of Poland, being extremely incensed at this horrid transaction, now retired from Russia with the remainder of his troops, but previously plundered Kief, carried off with him every thing of value, and appropriated to himself several places on the russian frontiers. Sviatopolk, now abandoned to himself, sought assistance against Yaroslav, then advancing with an army, from the Petchenegans, the hereditary foes of Russia. The hope of making considerable booty was sufficient allurements to these to undertake, under his conduct, an expedition to that country. A battle was fought between them and the Novgorodians, with their auxiliaries, under the command of Yaroslav, in 1019, not far from the place where Boris had been stabbed by the orders of his brother. This cruel transaction was prudently employed by Yaroslav for inflaming the courage of his warriors. An animated exhortation to them to stand firm in battle against a man who, like Cain, had shed the innocent blood of his brother; a solemn prayer, that God would make him

him and his army the instruments in his hands to revenge the death of the innocent Boris, wrought so powerfully on Yaroslav's troops, that, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in numbers, after a combat that lasted from morning dawn till evening, and during which streams of blood were shed on both sides, at length, at the setting of the sun, they came off victorious. Sviatopolk, on this event, so fatal to his hopes, immediately took to flight, and died on the road. Yaroslav, who principally owed his victory to the affection and support of the Novgorodians, now testified his gratitude as grand-prince, by giving to the city of Novgorod a body of laws, still known by the name of the municipal law of Novgorod, and by which it was settled into a calm and prosperous state. He was serviceable, however, not only to that city, but also to the rest of the empire, by building several towns, and exerted himself much for their welfare, and for that of the country at large. One of his brethren compelled him by arms, in 1026, to share the empire with him. Both of them, therefore, reigned amicably together; and on the death of the former, in 1036, Yaroslav received his portion back. The Petchenegans were so humbled by him, that they could never afterwards attempt any thing against Russia. He
resigned

resigned Novgorod to his son Vladimir, who first made war upon the neighbouring Tschudes*, then in 1043 set out on an expedition to Greece, under the pretext of revenging the death of a Russian who had been killed in that country. His main design, however, under that plea, to bring home spoil, was frustrated, and fifteen thousand men paid forfeit with their lives, for this attempt to revenge the death of one. Yaroslav himself lived in a good understanding with the Greeks, and under him trade and commerce increased between them and the Russians. In behalf of christianity and its extension, Yaroslav also did much. He established a metropolitan in Kief in 1051†, and thus gave the russian clergy a head whose duty it was to watch and to provide for ever for the more general dissemination of the christian doctrine, which indeed here and there did not meet with entire approbation. He himself was an able theologian. His reading consisted in church ordinances, agenda, and other books of the greek religion, of which he caused many to be translated into the language of the country, and then dispersed them abroad by means of copyists. Yet he allowed not his theo-

* The Esthonians.

† Of whom more hereafter.

logy to detain him from an expedition, in company with his brother *, to Poland; and there, according to the then practice of war, to burn and to destroy. On this occasion many places of which Boleslaus had taken possession came back to Russia.

Even this praise-worthy prince unaccountably fell into the mistake of dividing his empire among his sons, likewise on the condition that the younger princes should be subordinate to the eldest, as grand-prince of Kief †, at the same time giving authority to him to quiet either of them by force of arms who should begin disturbances. However well intended this settlement might be, it proved ineffectual to keep the passions in awe. Indeed, on his death-bed ‡, Yaroslav exhorted his sons and successors to the most intimate concord, strove to convince them

* In the year 1050.

† Grand-knez or grand-prince of Kief, improperly called grand-duke. The title of duke was absolutely unknown to the ancient Russians; and in modern times, when they had more communication with the western nations of Europe, they were obliged to borrow that appellation from the german language. But they adopted it only for the sake of giving it to foreigners; and the heir of the empire, whom we call the grand-duke, is called by them grand-prince, *veliki knez*.

‡ In the year 1054.

that they could only be respected by their enemies and govern their people with success, while they continued united and acted all as one man. It is possible that these admonitions of the dying parent might have made some transient impression, and have given rise to some good purposes for the moment, but they were impotent to repress the lust of domination and the desire of independence on the elder brother in the breasts of his younger brethren: there were in being also nephews of Yaroslav who thought they had claims on the empire.

ISIASLAF I. Persecuted by his brethren and relations, Isiaslaf, Yaroslav's eldest son, was obliged to abandon in 1067 the grand princely throne that had been left him by his father. By the assistance of the Poles, which he purchased at the expence of much treasure, he came afterwards, in 1068, again in possession of it; but was a second time expelled from it in 1075. He even now applied for succour to the emperor Henry IV. who was then at Mentz, and endeavoured by costly presents to bribe his friendship: he even went so far as to offer to accept his dominions as a fief of that monarch. But the succours which Isiaslaf wanted were troops, which it was not in the power of Henry to grant; and the exhortations to his brother, who
had

had seated himself on the kievian throne, and to whom Henry sent an ambassador, proved unavailing. Isiaflaf now applied even to the roman pontif *. He, who ruled with as unlimited sway over empires and principalities as over the kingdom of heaven, and readily gave away what he had not to give, invested Isiaflaf without delay with Russia, and commissioned his spiritual son, the duke of Poland, to support the grand-prince with all his might. Nothing could have moved the pope to this procedure, but the hope that Isiaflaf, on regaining his throne, would out of gratitude easily consent to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of his holiness instead of the spiritual supremacy then admitted of the patriarch of Constantinople, for himself and his

* What conferences might have passed between the russian prince and Gregory VIII. is uncertain; but a letter from that pope to Isiaflaf is still extant, in which he speaks to him in these terms: “ Your son being at Rome to adore
 “ the relics of the apostles, has declared to us his desire of
 “ receiving from us the sovereignty of Russia, as a present
 “ from the apostle St. Peter; and by taking the oath of
 “ fealty to us, he has certified to us that you concurred
 “ with him in this request. We have thought fit to con-
 “ descend to his petition, by granting him your dominions
 “ after your decease, on behalf of St. Peter.” The pope wrote also to the king of Poland to restore all he had received of Russia, and all that he had taken from her, as that country henceforward appertained to St. Peter.

empire.

empire. But, though the Poles soon after * re-instituted Iſiaſlaf, after his brother was dead, and another had voluntarily reſigned to him the place, the pope never attained his end.

Henceforward the hiſtory of the ruſſian empire conſiſts almoſt entirely of one continued ſeries of wars which the ſeveral princes carried on againſt each other. For, the countries belonging to the ruſſian ſtate, which before compoſed but one empire, being now ſplit and divided among ſeveral princes, almoſt every one of them turned all his thoughts to the enlargement of his territory at the expence of the neareſt princes, and to ſeize to himſelf whatever his neighbour was unable to defend : — a natural conſequence of Vladimir's partition, and the ſubſequent new diſtribution eſtabliſhed by Yaroflaf. Indeed Vladimir had enacted the law, and Yaroflaf renewed it, that all the other princes ſhould be ſubject to him of Kief, and dependent upon him, that the latter might have the authority to hold together all the ſeparate principalities, in a manner like one common empire. An inſtitution in the formation whereof both had the well-meant deſign, that, in caſe of any hoſtile attack, all the princes might combine for the fruſtration of it,

* In the year 1077.

and so much the easier repel the invader: this good intention of those partitioning sovereigns was, however, soon forgotten. Each prince cared only for himself, and all made it their constant endeavour to render themselves more and more independent on the grand-princes of Kief, and to usurp as much as possible, by stratagem or force, from the territory of others.

A circumstantial detail of all the wars which the russian princes carried on against each other, with descriptions of all the battles they fought, and a specification of the thousands of men that were slaughtered on both sides, would only weary the mind without improvement. I will rather strive to give a general picture, in few strokes, of the unhappy state of the russian empire.

Besides the principality of Kief, whose sovereigns bore the title of grand-princes, and was transferred to the principality of Novgorod, which was regarded as a distinct principality, having its own princes, yet commonly remained dependent on the grand principality, and connected with it, several distinct principalities were gradually formed by the repeated partitions at Tver, Tschernigof, Pereïaslavl, Smolensk, Rostof, Suzdal, Polotzk, Murom, Turof, Trebovl, Kursk, Nishney-Novgorod, Novgorod-Siverskoy, Vladimir, Halitch, and Mosco. The connection

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of many of these principalities with Kief at length entirely ceased, and the princes of Smolensk, Vladimir, Tver, Halitch, and Mosco, gradually arrogated to themselves as valid a title and as complete an independance on the grand-princes, as the princes of Kief.

A long train of distresses ensued to Russia from those times of dismemberment. Princes of a martial spirit, and rapacious of territory, always found plausible pretences for attacking the neighbouring potentates. At times, some of them confederated together, and fell upon one or more of the rest. The victor became lord of the countries of the vanquished ; but it not unfrequently happened that he soon after met with the same fate that he had prepared for others : a more fortunate and powerful prince than he overcame him, and took from him the conquests he had made. He who was vanquished fled ; or, if he fell into the hands of the conqueror, he was thrown into a dungeon, or sent to a monastery. Sometimes the fugitive returned and regained possession of his hereditary dominions. But a claim of right was not always referred to the decision of arms ; recourse was often had to the shorter and easier course of murder. Thus two brothers caused a brother and six of their kinsmen to be assassinated, that they might seize
Q 2 upon

upon their domains. These alternate dissensions of princes, these never-ending wars, where the adjustment of one quarrel contained in it the seeds of fresh disputes, might have been attended with the most baleful effects to the whole empire and all the subjects. No prospect was to be had of peace and tranquillity, and their concomitants order and prosperity. If now and then a wise prince of a pacific temper succeeded to the throne, it depended not on him to remain in peace, as one or another of his neighbours would infallibly provoke him to war. The everlasting revolutions of government naturally raised parties in the people, as frequently one part adhered to the expelled, and another attached itself to the new sovereign. The unhappy condition of Russia was still farther aggravated by this, that the princes, divided among themselves, being constantly aiming at aggrandisement, called in the help of foreign nations, as the Polovtzes, the Poles and the Hungarians; and, supported by these, strove to possess themselves by force of arms of one principality or another. These people, allured by covetousness and rapacity, readily came to their help. Ravaging of towns and villages, carrying off the captives into slavery, plundering of all things that appeared useful to them, were the stated means by which they paid themselves

themselves for their assistance. But the neighbouring nations, from time to time, made incursions uninvited into the empire, where particular detached princes were usually too impotent to resist their attacks with impresson, and a junction with several or with all never came to effect, as each of them was glad to see the enemy weaken the others.

Indeed it would happen that a worthy ruler acquired the government, but it was impossible for one alone to stop the course of the torrent. Vladimir II. reigned from 1113 to 1125, laudably and with great respect; the grecian emperor, as a testimony that he held him for his equal, sent him the ensigns of the imperial dignity*. His son Mstislaf acquired the honourable surname of the Great, and was highly deserving of the gratitude of his subjects, by his equal distribution of justice, and by his laying on the taxes proportionately to the circumstances of each individual. Besides, this prince increased the population by prisoners of war, and improved the prosperity of the country, as these addicted themselves either

* They are still preserved in the museum and armoury at Mosco, and consist of a golden tiara of grecian workmanship, set with precious stones, and surmounted with a cross, a golden sceptre, an imperial mound, and some other princely ornaments.

to agriculture or trade, and set a good example to the natives, who were at once lazy and prodigal. But such worthy sovereigns could not singly ameliorate the whole. Occasionally it even seemed as if the princes mutually saw how necessary it was to lay aside their never-ending cabals and wars, by which they were reciprocally weakening and destroying one another, and to live peaceably together, uniting their forces, the better to make a stand against enemies invited to aggressions on the empire by their dissensions, and by a quiet government to provide for the welfare of their country. These wishes were at times publicly expressed, and an assembly of all the princes was held. New distributions of territory were made; the boundaries were fixed; they took an oath of fidelity and peace; and promised that, whenever one of them ceasing to comply with the ordinances established for their mutual benefit, should conduct himself in a contentious manner, all the others would immediately rise up in arms, and unitedly correct the common disturber. But this league met with the fate so common to treaties of eternal amity; it was of short duration. Discord presently got again the upper hand, and wars were as common as before. Thus, in the year 1100, a general assembly of the princes was held, a treaty of union

was

was concluded, and ratified by written and verbal assurances, by documents and oaths; but scarcely had the meeting broke up, before a brother of the grand prince found means of exasperating him so much against another, and contrived so wicked a plot against the former, that the grand-prince cast that brother into prison, and was silent while his adversary caused his eyes to be put out : — an inhuman kind of torture which had been learnt in Greece. It should seem, therefore, as if the russian princes were absolutely unacquainted with the advantages of peace to their country, and as if it were impossible to preserve tranquillity in the empire.

The grand principality of Kief particularly suffered by these wars; as every one of the other princes that had ambition aspired at the possession of it, and consequently that state was exceedingly weakened and dilapidated. Hence also in a short time the princes of Vladimir* were grown so powerful

* A city on the left side of the Kliasma, on a steep and tolerably high mountain. Some ascribe the original erection of it to the grand-prince Vladimir I. and others erroneously assert, that from that time it was the princely residence. They are led into this error by Nestor's account, who, speaking of the partition of the empire by that prince among his sons, says, that Vladimir, among other cities, fell to the share of Vsevolod. But this latter city stands on the

powerful, that they declared themselves completely independent on Kief, assumed the grand princely

other side of Kief in Volhynia on the Bogue, and was founded by Vladimir I. whereas Vladimir on the Kliasma did not then exist. This had for its builder prince Igor Vladimirovitch Monomachus in the year 1152, and belonged afterwards to the principality of Rostof. When prince Andrey Igorievitch, surnamed Bogoliubskoy, obtained Susdal and Vladimir to his share from his father, the situation of the latter city pleased him so much, that he immediately resolved to make it his seat, beautified it with a number of structures, enlarged and fortified it, and at length, on the death of his father in 1157, transferred thither the grand princely seat. The grand principality Vladimir ended under Ivan Danilovitch Kalita in 1328, having therefore lasted uninterruptedly 170 years. Baaty, the grandson of Tschinghis khan, after having reduced to ashes the cities Riazan, Kolomna, Mosco, and many others, he in 1237 surrounded Vladimir with his whole force; and, after a siege of four days, took it by storm, caused all the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and burnt the city. The grand prince then reigning, Igor Vsevolodovitch, was killed, together with his three sons and his whole family. One of his children was taken prisoner in Mosco, and put to death before the walls of Vladimir; two were cut to pieces in Vladimir, with arms in their hands, at the taking of the city; the grand-prince himself was slain in an engagement that happened soon after the demolition of the city, near the river Sit in the principality of Rostof. Two hundred years after, namely in 1410, Vladimir underwent another desolation. The tartarian
tzarevitch

princely title, and stood in greater respect than the grand-princes of Kief.

Novgorod was that principality which so early as the time of Rurik had shewn a certain love of liberty and independence, a relic of its ancient freer, more republican form of government. Rurik, as well as the succeeding grand-princes of Kief, had uniformly endeavoured to restrain

tzarevitch Talytch took the city by surprise, massacred several thousand persons, and retired with his prisoners and heaps of spoil. Of the ancient structures still remaining in Vladimir, the following are remarkable : 1. The church of St. Mary, where are still preserved the ancient princely vestments and armour, as the purple mantle, the helmet, coat of mail, quiver, bows and arrows, &c. 2. The cathedral Dmitriefskoi, near which, according to tradition, stood the grand princely palace, whence it is to be supposed that it was the church of the court. It is built entirely of white stones, and decorated with statues both within and without. Over the fore-court are several apartments, with apertures into the church, for the purpose of hearing divine worship. At the capture of the city by Baaty, the consort of the grand-prince Igor fled hither, with her daughters-in-law, and several other distinguished personages of both sexes; and, when the Tartars could not force an entrance, and they could not be persuaded to surrender, they brought wood into the church, and set fire to it, so that they all miserably perished by the smoke and the heat. The fortifications of the town, which consisted of high ramparts, are entirely in ruins. *Opissanie namestn. Vladim. na gosp. Bollina.*

this liberty within proper bounds. Now, while the grand princely power was declining at Kief, the love of liberty refuscitated afresh in the Novgorodians, and was particularly displayed in the curious manner in which that principality changed its princes. Within the space of a hundred years the novgorodian state had had four-and-thirty princes. For, if the present ruler were not agreeable to the people, they deposed him without farther process, drove him away, and set up another: were they again weary of this; he experienced a similar fate with his predecessor, and it sometimes happened that the former was fetched back to the throne from which he had been expelled. Even the authority of the princes was moreover exceedingly limited. The posadnik, the first and principal person of the council, together with the rest of the members, had, properly speaking, the government in their hands, but likewise the people in a body assembled was often the judge, and the novgorodian state was more like a republic than a principality. They seemed to have a prince only for form's sake; accordingly discontents and rebellion immediately arose, whenever one of them aimed at acquiring a trifling authority beyond what they were accustomed to allow their princes. The Novgorodians not only entered
into

into treaty with their princes concerning the chase and the fishery, and in general very accurately stated their privileges and revenues, but even spoke to them in a tone which shew us plainly enough that a novgorodian prince could not have possessed any great share of power. Thus they once wrote to one of them: “Why dost thou act unjustly? Thou keepest a great number of hawks and falcons; thou hast taken our rivers from us where we used to fish; thou hast a large pack of hounds. We can no longer endure thy tyranny; get away from us then in God’s name; we will presently find us another prince.” The prince hereupon sent deputies, and promised to submit; but in vain, they would not take his word, and threatened to expel him by force if he did not voluntarily take himself away. They put another into prison, because, as they said, he only pursued his pleasures, was fond of hawking and hunting, but gave himself no concern about the government and the administration of justice.

Notwithstanding, however, all these liberties which the Novgorodians thought fit to take to themselves, yet their princes and even the grand-princes were obliged to spare them by all manner of means. The city of Novgorod was a principal market of the russian commerce, and especially

especially the staple-town of the german and livonian merchants who traded with the Russians ; the Novgorodians were consequently more thriving and opulent than the inhabitants of any other russian town. A prince therefore might live comfortably among them even under some restrictions. Besides, as the present Ingria and Karelia belonged to Novgorod, that principality was powerful enough of itself to raise a considerable army, and sufficiently rich by money to hire auxiliary troops besides. Lastly, it lay so near to Sweden, that some management was necessary to avoid giving it an occasion of entirely separating from Russia, and acknowledging the swedish supremacy. Even the grand-princes for that reason behaved with great lenity towards it. Accordingly when the Novgorodians once even refused obedience to the grand-prince, the metropolitan wrote to them in his name, in such manner as surely no prince ever wrote in his own: “ The grand-prince has acted wrong
“ towards you ; but he is sorry for it all ; de-
“ fires you to forgive him, and will behave
“ better for the future. I * will be bound for
“ him, and beseech you to receive him with
“ honour and dignity.”

* The Metropolitan.

As the supremacy of the grand-princes of Kief over Novgorod was perpetually declining, so likewise the other princes found means from time to time to render themselves gradually more independent on them; and the principality of Vladimir in particular, as I have already observed, during the quarrels between the princely families, had formed itself into a very considerable realm.

Andrey contributed most to the growing power of Vladimir, who, desirous of making the capital Vladimir equal to Kief, set up an image of the Virgin Mary, brought from the latter city, in his residence Vladimir, and caused a magnificent church to be built for it. In the then temper of the people this made a prodigious impression.

The system of aggrandizement at the expence of a neighbour, of seizing by force of arms on the country of relations, had prevailed among the princes of Russia for full two hundred years *. These incessant quarrels must however

* These wars began after the death of Sviatoslaf; Vladimir at length alone remained. His sons renewed the contest, and the sons of Yaroslaf again. Yaroslaf died in 1054, and then the wars became more frequent than ever. — The Tartars came into the neighbourhood of Russia and made themselves masters of Vladimir in 1238.

have naturally tended to weaken the empire, whose internal energies were withal already dissipated by repeated partitions: and so it was in fact; for it suffered so much by these eternal feuds and contests, that at last it was easy for the Mongoles, who now rushed in upon it, to make themselves masters of one principality after another, to prescribe laws to the princes, to treat them as tributary vassals, and arbitrarily to domineer over Russia, heretofore so powerful under Vladimir and Yaroslav, to set up and to depose her sovereigns at will, and even to inflict on them capital punishment. One of the most lamentable periods in russian history; and which was only exceeded by the disturbances that afterwards arose concerning the impostors under the name of Demetrius, during which this empire, for a space of more than two hundred years, made a very small figure among the states of Europe.

The Mongoles, inhabiting an extensive region in the greater or asiatic Tartary, who afterwards, on their making themselves known and formidable in Europe, obtained the name of Tartars, quitted about the year 1224 their ancient homestead under the guidance of a certain Temudschin, the son of a mongolian khan.

khan *. This Temudschin, since called Tschinghis khan, the great prince, was one of the most successful

* These people were not known in Russia prior to the year 1224. The annalist says: " There came strange people, whose origin, descent, and belief no one can tell with certainty. They call themselves Tartars, worship the sun, the moon, and fire; some of them are denominated Torkmenes; others Mongi; others assert that several tribes of oriental Scythians united with them, and they bore the same name." They were in fact Mongoles, or Manshures, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of China, and were of the same pedigree with the Huns. From their patriarchal seat they marched to the sea of Aral, subdued the several swarms inhabiting that prodigious tract, in a few centuries mingled so much with them, and so much changed their nature and their language, that they were absolutely distinct from their relations the Huns, who had come into Europe a few centuries before. Among the subjugated hives were also the Torkmenes, or Turkomanes, and the Kumanes living in the steppes adjacent to the Caspian sea; neither of them related with the Tartars, but merely serving in their armies. Several sarmatian and scythian swarms were mingled with them, and hence sprung the Tartars, who domineered over Russia. The Nagais have least of all mixed with strangers, and are distinguishable from the others in bodily structure as well as in manners; their original temperament, however, has undergone a conspicuous change from climate and education. The rest of the Tartars have absolutely preserved nothing of their ancestors, having assimilated with the nations among whom they have incorporated. Had it not been for the dismemberment of Russia and the intestine feuds between the separate princes, the hordes

successful conquerors of his time. Attended by his numerous swarms, who, actuated by insatiable rapacity, unrelenting fury, and inhuman cruelty, spread terror and dismay before them, and marked their footsteps with barbarities and devastations; he over-ran China, the Bukharèy, and Persia. His son Tufchi marched along the shores of the

hordes of Tartars, numerous as they were, would never have been able to execute any thing against the valour, the firm and intrepid spirit of the Russians. As it was, the Tartars paid dearly for the first step they made into the empire; but, on penetrating farther and finding no opposition, excepting from some inconsiderable companies detached against them by the separate princes, they plundered and ravaged wherever they came, till all Russia was subject to them. The country, oppressed under their cruel yoke, struggled for upwards of a century to shake it off. Its fate was in the hands of a rude, unenlightened nation, that with its sovereignty imparted to it all its ignorance, and threw it far behind the other kingdoms of Europe, which experienced no similar calamity. But no sooner had the sagacity and prudence of the Russian monarchs succeeded in reuniting the several bodies of the state, than it rose again with renewed and increasing energy; it courageously shook off the yoke of these common disturbers; not only extorted from them the former possessions, but made farther acquisitions in aggrandizement and extent, and expelled the tyrants of its subjects. At present nothing more remains of the formidable and powerful tartar nation than the name which probably will never again excite terror.

Caspian,

Caspian, consequently was ever coming nearer to the russian empire, and in a short time proceeded quite up to the Dniepr. The Tscherkesses, or Circassians, dwelling here were first attacked and overcome. Indeed they had joined with the neighbouring Polovtzes to enable themselves to make a stand against the terrible enemy that was approaching. But the Tartars had found means to divide them by bribes, then routed them separately, and brought them under their yoke. It was easy for the russian princes to foresee that, as soon as the Polovtzes their neighbours were forced to yield to the torrent of these rushing swarms, their turn to be attacked by them would presently come on. The Polovtzes even plainly told the Russians so; and now the russian princes resolved to make common cause with them, and manfully to defend their country, which lay as a rampart to Russia against the invading Tartars. The Tartars set every means at work to sow discord between the Russians and Polovtzes, as they had done before between the latter and the Tscherkesses; but the Russians, warned by the foregoing example, proved firm to their alliance, and even made away with the ambassadors that were sent to them by the Tartars. Near the river Kalka, which flows into the sea of Azof, an engagement happened in 1223 between the

Tartars on one side, and the united Russians and Polovtzes on the other. The Tartars rushed on the combined army with impetuosity and rage. The Russians stood their ground with intrepidity; but the allies, who formed the vanguard on this occasion, terrified at the furious onset of the Tartars, suddenly turned about and ran, which put the Russian army, drawn up behind them, into such complete disorder as to occasion a general flight. The prince of Kief, who was posted with his people on an adjacent hill, had the finest opportunity possible for falling on the rear of the Tartars, as they were pursuing the Russians, and by that step might have turned the day in favour of the latter: but he remained inactive, probably from cowardice, or perhaps from a fordid satisfaction in the downfall of the other Russian princes. However it be, he stood immovable, and entrenched himself on the spot. But to no purpose; for, as soon as the other troops were beaten and dispersed, it came to his turn to be attacked, and the slaughter committed by the Tartars on his army was so much the greater as his numbers were in no proportion to theirs.

The Russians now discovered these Tartars to be very formidable enemies. Nothing therefore was more reasonably to be expected than
that

that henceforward all the princes of Russia would have bound themselves together in firm and faithful obligations, in order by mutual confederation to rescue their country from the farther incursions of the furious hordes. They had also time enough for entering into such a league, for constructing fortifications, for laying plans how to act in concert in case the new enemy should return, and for putting their frontiers in a proper state of defence; as the Tartars left them for thirteen years without molestation. But, instead of employing this time in forming so necessary a fraternization and union, most of them, on recovering in some degree from the dreadful havoc on the river Kalka, increased the difficulty of such a conjunction, by recommencing their old family-wars, while by these conflicts they diminished the number of fighting men, and in the same proportion smoothed the way, as if designedly, for the Tartars to get the mastery of the Russian empire; which indeed soon after happened to a very general extent.

Baaty, the grandson of Tschinghis-khan, khan of Kaptschak *, thirteen years after that bloody

* Under this general denomination were implied many countries situate about the Caspian, and farther onward towards Europe.

battle on the Kalka, penetrated into Russia. His first attack was on the neighbours of the Russians, the Bulgarians. They implored in vain for assistance from the Russian princes; but they fondly hoped that Baaty, like his predecessor, would not pursue his way into the Russian territories; till they saw too late the fallacy of their expectations. This time the Tartars followed up their victories with unremitted ardour. Riazan was the first Russian principality that was afflicted by them. These people were terrible indeed as enemies. Wherever they came the whole face of nature was laid waste, towns and villages burnt, all men fit for bearing arms cut to pieces; children, with old men and women carried into captivity. If the inhabitants of the towns to which they approached made a compromise with them, the faithless Tartars immediately broke the agreement, and treated those who surrendered to their mercy as terribly as those who stood on their defence, and were overcome. If the inhabitants of open towns and villages came out to meet them, to hail them as their conquerors, death, inhuman tortures, and the most ignominious bondage, were the reward of their spontaneous submission.

The prince of Riazan sent for assistance to the grand-prince of Vladimir, he being at that time the most powerful of the Russian princes. But these
defensive

defensive measures were taken much too late, and the number of the auxiliary troops was by far too small. Riazan fell, and its fall was followed by that of the principalities of Pereïaslavl, Rostof, Sufdal, and several others. Like a furious torrent rushing down the mountain's side, irresistibly carrying with it all it meets, these tartarian monsters rolled their rapid course, sweeping all before them in one common destruction, by fire and sword, by ravages and desolation, torments and death. They were now coming nearer and nearer to the grand principality of Vladimir: no army was there to resist them on the frontiers. They advanced unimpeded to the very capital; and this had nothing to expect but a like dreadful fate with that of the several towns which they had visited before. Yury, or George, the grand-prince, who, with unpardonable negligence, was wasting the time that might have been employed in collecting the means of defence in celebrating a marriage feast, while the enemy was advancing to the borders of the empire, consigned the protection of Vladimir, leaving in it his consort and two of his sons, to one of his chieftains, in hopes that, as it was a strong town, it would be able to hold out till he had got together an army sufficient to bid the enemy defiance. But the commander, a man

destitute of courage, as appeared from all his proceedings, by his own pusillanimity spread irresolution and alarm among the other defenders. Instead of annoying the enemy by excursions and other methods of repulse, they ran from one church and chapel to another, repeating their devotions before the image of every saint, hoping to move these celestial advocates to espouse their cause, and interpose in their behalf with some signal miracle: thus neglecting the defence of the city, and facilitating the capture of it to the furious besiegers. As in catholic countries, on an alarm of fire, the people, thinking to diminish, increase the danger by throwing into the flames their wooden saints. It being now firmly believed that nothing could save them from death, they caused themselves to be admitted into the orders of monks and nuns, in order to ensure to themselves a blissful departure. Thus a spirit of fear and despondency was engendered and nourished within the city, which continued augmenting from day to day, and at last universally prevailed. The Tartars, without much opposition, one morning climbed over the walls; were soon victorious; and, being masters of the place, cast aside every feeling of humanity, glutting their appetite for blood, like beasts of prey, among the affrighted inhabitants. The sword
mowed

mowed them down by thousands, while the fires that were kindled in all parts consumed the buildings emptied of their inmates or filled with the mangled carcases of their late possessors. The grand-princess and other ladies of distinction took refuge in the choir of a church for fear of falling victims to the brutality of the relentless conquerors. All the assurances and asseverations of the Tartars that they should suffer no injury being ineffectual to induce them to come out, the barbarians set fire to the church, and feasted their ears with the shrieks and groans of the women as they were consuming in the flames.

— The tidings of so deplorable and unexampled a fate befalling his capital, with the horrible death of his wife and children, incensed the grand-prince to desperation. He assembled the warriors that still adhered to him, marched with this little army against the Tartars, though so greatly inferior to them in numbers, fought at the head of his people, and, supported by them, derived courage from despair. But the utmost bravery, the greatest exertions, can never make impossibility possible; and he paid for this last struggle with the death which he seemed to have sought, his people falling around him or carried into captivity. The Tartars constantly pushed forward, and were already on the nov-

gorodian territory, about threescore miles from the city of Novgorod, when they suddenly faced about and evacuated the russian empire. The cause of this rapid retreat is unknown: the Russians concluded that it was brought about by the intercession of the saints, by the prayers of the clergy, and by a miracle of the archangel Michael. Fourteen large towns, besides several of smaller note, and numberless villages, had been burnt or desolated by this new enemy to the russian empire; and, according to some accounts ten, and to others sixty thousand, mostly stout men, the flower of the nation, destroyed. One lamentable inference, among others, to be drawn from facts of this nature, confirmed by history, is, that man is the cruellest creature on earth, and is more furious against his own kind than any of the other animals are against theirs.

No sooner had the news of the retreat of the Tartars reached the ears of Yaroslav, prince of Novgorod, than, resigning that capital in 1039 to his son Alexander, he proceeded to Vladimir to take possession of the country, now sadly desolated, and the throne of his unfortunate brother Yury. If the first incursion of the Tartars into the russian empire made such dire impression on the eastern part of it, southern and western Russia soon experienced, in 1240, particularly that

that part of the country belonging to the princes of Kief, the dreadful ravages of this rude enemy. Only two years had Russia been clear of them, when they again returned. All the inhabitants, abandoning the towns and villages, fled before them; they even would not venture to remain in fortified places, and a great part of the empire was again presently overrun by them. This time their view was chiefly directed to Kief. The grand-prince abandoned his residence to the care of an intrepid warrior, and went into Hungary. This general valiantly defended the city with which he was entrusted, after bravely rejecting the summons to surrender; but, on the coming up of Baaty himself, Kief fell, as Vladimir had done two years before. Here too the slaughter committed by the Tartars was horrible: part of the inhabitants, after the rest of the city was in the enemy's hands, returned and fortified themselves in the great church of Sophia. But the quantity of provisions and treasures that had been deposited in it by its weight caused the building to give way, and those to whom it had afforded refuge were either miserably crushed by the falling structure, or cruelly cut to pieces by the Tartars that now poured in. The valiant commander fell alive into the power of Baaty, yet by his noble behaviour was so fortunate as not
only

only to be preserved from the cruelties of the conqueror, but even to acquire his esteem and affection to so high a degree that he became his favorite, and obtained a temporary repose to his country from the Tartars. He represented to Baaty that Russia was now so enfeebled and depressed, that its princes were certainly unable to undertake any thing against him; that therefore the khan would do better to turn his victorious arms against Poland and Hungary to prevent those countries from acquiring strength by rest, and so becoming a formidable adversary to him. Baaty followed his advice, turned his arms against Poland, forced his way even into Silesia, gained a bloody battle near Liegnitz, then marching back through Moravia and Hungary, returned and maintained in his horde the mastery he had acquired over Russia.

The desolation of the Russian empire, brought on by the incursions and ravages of the Tartars, must naturally have prompted its neighbours to take advantage of her distress. The Lithuanians had already long since appropriated to themselves some parts of the south-western Russia; the adjacent northern powers, the Danes, the Swedes, and the livonian knights of the Sword, were wishing to recover the principality of Novgorod; and the grand-prince appeared to be in

too weak a state by far to give them any reason to apprehend that he could raise a force sufficient for the defence of the appanage Novgorod. But the same Alexander, to whom his father Yaroslav made over the government of that city on his departure for Vladimir after the Tartars had quitted it, gained a complete victory over the Danes on the banks of the Neva, and built forts against the Swedes and Livonians *.

The Tartars now for a long time had not repeated their visits to Russia, contenting themselves with having imposed on their princes considerable tributes. Nay, they were obliged henceforward to appear in the main camp of the khans of Kaptschak, or the Golden Horde †, and

* In the year 1239.

† So called from the magnificent tent of the khan there. Anciently the Mongoles gave this name to the khan's tent or kikitka; and, from the account of Carpin and Rubruquis, it was so called, because the khan of China made a present to Tschinghis khan of a rich tent entirely covered with cloth of gold. Afterwards, it was usual with all the khans to call the great kikitkas, however plain and simple they might be, allotted to the reception of distinguished personages, ambassadors and the like, by the epithet golden. The Russians, however, gave the name of the golden horde not only to the court of the khan, but also to his whole territory along the Volga. *Tatischtsch. Slovar*, tom. iii, p. 54.

do homage to the khan, as their paramount lord, by whose investiture, and with whose approbation alone, they might hope to possess their countries in peace. Like the first prince who regained the grand princely throne from Vladimir, Yaroslav was forced to present himself to the khan, and leave his right to the throne to his decision. Yaroslav, by a multitude of costly presents, was so happy as to gain Baaty's favour and his nomination to be grand-prince of Russia, under the assurance that he would acknowledge the khan of Kaptschak for his feudal lord, and the supreme or grand khan of all the mongolian hordes for his sovereign. Yaroslav, now in quality of grand-prince of Russia, returned from the horde to Vladimir. But still the other princes refused to reverence the grand-prince appointed by the khan as their head; and, in the subsequent contests that happened among them, chose rather to submit to the decision of the tartar khans, than to the grand-princes sprung from the same family with themselves. Nay, this novel form of government even opened a new field to gratify the several princes in their covetousness and their lust of dominion. They now only had to win over by presents the khan and his great men, and they might hope to acquire from the all-powerful decree of the former, what

what they must otherwise endeavour to gain by arms.

Alexander, Yaroslav's son, had, as I have said before, entirely routed the Danes on the shores of the Neva *, and was then returned to his principality of Novgorod. After so signal a victory,

* This victory procured Alexander the honourable surname of Nefsky. A variety of miracles obtained him a place among the saints of the Russian church. Among others, he opened his hand to take the prayer of absolution, which in Russia is given to every corpse in the coffin, previous to interment, and his death was notified by divine inspiration to the metropolitan. Peter I. in order to elevate his new city St. Petersburg, in the eyes of the populace, who are remarkably fond of saints and miracles, by the bones of a heavenly patron, raised a monastery to the honour of Alexander, and caused the grand princely relics to be brought, attended by several hundred priests, and numberless ceremonies, from Vladimir to Petersburg, a distance of 902 versts, went to meet the procession with all his court, and saw the coffin deposited in the monastery, which has from time to time received additional embellishments from the successors of that monarch. Elizabeth caused a shrine to be made for the saint of beaten silver, and the order of knighthood instituted by Peter in honour of Alexander, but which, as he died soon after, was first conferred by Catharine I. is sufficiently known. It is even worn by kings; and it was bestowed by the present emperor Paul on lord Camperdown, as a testimony of his satisfaction in the victory obtained by that great naval commander over the Dutch fleet in 1797.

the strictest attention was had, lest the fortunate conqueror should stretch his authority too far, and contract the liberties of the novgorodian state. It is not improbable that Alexander, proud of the attachment of his army, had taken some steps to acquire more influence than the princes of Novgorod had hitherto possessed; or, whether it was, that the Novgorodians, always jealous of their liberties, were only afraid that he might make an undue use of his power, and were too hasty in their surmises, — in short, a rebellion broke out in Novgorod. Alexander was forced to retire, and, much dispirited, applied to his father at Vladimir. This prince assigned over to him in perpetuity the principality of Pereïaslavl, and sent to the Novgorodians another of his sons, agreeably to their request. But no sooner had Alexander withdrawn, than the Novgorodians were threatened afresh by the foes, against whom the expelled prince had before so bravely defended them. His successor was not successful in the choice of his measures for repelling the enemy. The people, soon feeling the loss of the enterprising and dauntless Alexander, called him back; but he, highly resenting the late rebellion, rejected their petition with disdain. A second embassy was now sent from Novgorod, with the archbishop at its head; on which Alexander

ander complied, came and relieved the besieged Novgorod, secured to himself again the gratitude of the Novgorodians, not only repulsed the enemy, but even pushed on to Livonia, and gained a new victory over the Germans, Danes, and Tschudes, on the borders of the Peipus lake *. The fame of the exploits of the youthful hero, from the intimate connection at that time subsisting between the Tartars and the Russians, must have soon reached the ears of the tartar khan. Accordingly, when Alexander's father the grand prince Yaroslav was dead, the khan invited him to the horde; and the prince of Novgorod, captivating on his first appearance by his fine manly figure, behaved here so well, that the khan himself confessed, that although he had heard so much to his praise, yet that he far exceeded all that had been reported of him. Accordingly Alexander, to whom afterwards even the Novgorodians did ample justice, had now the satisfaction of seeing himself prized and esteemed by the hereditary enemy of his empire. In 1252 he came back from a second visit to the khan, and ascended the throne as grand-prince of Vladimir. With greater force he now undertook an expedition against Sweden, and hap-

* In the year 1245.

pily coming off victorious, he, conformably with the then practice of war, ravaged all the countries he captured from the enemy, and returned to Russia with a multitude of prisoners, and heaps of spoil.

Russia, now dependent on the Tartars, besides the degrading necessity of having its grand princes confirmed by the khan, was also obliged to acknowledge the tartarian sovereignty, by acquiescing in whatever tribute it should please her paramount lord, the tartar khan, to impose upon the grand-princes, as well as the other princes; and, in consequence of this, must moreover be constantly endeavouring to gain the favour of the khans, their favourites and great men. At first, indeed, these tartar liege lords were content with demanding a contribution from each of the princes, leaving it to him to levy it on his subjects. But so early as under Alexander they required a tribute in proportion to the population in the several principalities of the empire, and, that they might be the less liable to fraud or evasion, even appointed persons of their own nation, who imposed on every Russian, without distinction, a tax according to the standard of his circumstances, and attended very strictly to the payment of it. Only the clergy, and all persons engaged in functions of divine service, were

were exempted from this tax ; probably, because among the Tartars the clergy was held in great reverence, and therefore this class was even respected among their enemies *. Such was then the condition of the Russians, that brave and once so powerful a nation, which formerly received tribute from more than one nation, now reduced so low as to be obliged to pay contributions at the will of a superior : — a sad vicissitude, merely brought on by the eternal disputes and intrigues of the princes ; for had they not dilapidated the empire, Russia would certainly have been able from the very first to have made an effectual opposition to the Tartars. In no part of the Russian empire does it appear that the ignominy of this submission to be tributary was so sensibly felt as at Novgorod, ever constant in its love of liberty, and the districts dependent on it. Here, to a man, they peremptorily refused to pay the tribute to the Tartarian collectors that were appointed and sent for that purpose. Even Alexander's son, who had been made prince of Novgorod by his father, misguided by his advisers, united in the obstinacy

* A reigning khan in latter times pretended to know nothing of this exemption of the clergy ; though at length he suffered himself, by remonstrances and considerable presents, to be moved to leave the affair on the old footing.

of his people. But the grand-prince Alexander, too sagacious not to perceive that compliance at the proper season is a proof of wisdom, that opposition to such superior power was extremely preposterous, and that to resist force by force was here altogether impossible, testified his displeasure at what was passing at Novgorod, as likely to bring the greatest calamities on their country and on the empire at large. To prevent all evil consequences, therefore, he took a journey himself to Novgorod *, punished the advisers of his son with great severity, and settled the business of the payment. But, as they now would not be quiet, under pretence that the poorer sort were obliged to contribute more in proportion than the rich, he took the disagreeable and vexatious business of the national payment on himself; terminated it happily, and thus acquired, difficult as it might be, the complacency of the Novgorodians, as well as of the Tartars. Notwithstanding, however, all the pains which Alexander took to allay these discontents, they arose in other towns on the score of the tartarian tax-gatherers, and broke out into overt acts. The matter itself was very burdensome and degrading to the Russians; and, as the collectors might

* In the year 1258.

moreover be guilty of some acts of injustice and severity, the general displeasure of the nation shewed itself suddenly and strongly in several places at once. At Rostof, at Vladimir, at Susdal, and other towns, the tartarian collectors were massacred, forced to adopt the christian faith, or hunted out of the city. Such proceedings must doubtless have exceedingly exasperated the Tartars against the Russians. No sooner was the account of them brought to the horde, but the khan commanded not only the grand princes, but all the other russian princes, to appear before him; adding, that they should come each at the head of his troops, for that the khan intended to make a campaign, and was in want of the assistance of the Russians. It was easily seen that the khan, by these summons, only wanted to deprive Russia of her armed defenders, in order to be the better able to penetrate into the empire. Alexander, who had already made trial of the consideration he had acquired in the mind of the khan, now conceived the very adventurous resolution of repairing quite alone to the horde, and there, by submissiveness and prudence, to avert the wrath of the khan impending over Russia on account of the murder of his deputies. He resolved to make the dangerous attempt; and should even that prince's

vengeance fall the heavier on him for it, and he must expiate the act with his life, he was prepared for that also, if it were but the means of redeeming his country. Twelve months complete was Alexander obliged to tarry in the horde, before he was able to succeed in appeasing the wrath of the khan. At length, after having obtained his dismissal, and the promise that the khan would forgive what had happened, and forego his purpose of raising an army, he died suddenly on the road while returning home *, with circumstances that render it extremely probable that, in the camp of the khan, poison had been administered to him shortly before his departure. His father had already experienced a similar fate, falling sick and dying on the journey back from the horde; and after him it befel likewise some of his successors. It is indeed possible, and may easily be believed, that the rough, uncleanly, and irregular manner of life in use among the Tartars, to which the russian princes were not accustomed, as well as the affronts and humiliations of various kinds experienced by them in the horde, must have deeply affected them, and might have a very detrimental influence on their

* In the year 1262.

health; but the Tartars certainly were wont to give poison to the russian princes, which usually operated on their journey home.

Fortunately for Russia, disputes and contentions had been gradually arising among the chiefs of the Tartars. One of their commanders, having gained a number of adherents, declared himself independent on the khan of Kaptschak, and under him was formed the horde of Nogayan Tartars, who exercised the sovereignty over southern Russia, as the kaptschakian khans ruled over the other parts of the empire. Now contests frequently arose of Tartars against Tartars, for the patronage of the russian princes; and the russian princes one while submitted to one khan, and then to another, in order by their patronage and assistance to get possession of the particular principalities they had in view. The russian princes were, therefore, now preying again with savage fury on their own vitals, since even by conquests they gained but little, as the conqueror who was succoured by the Tartars, was obliged to pay dearly for them, and held the territories acquired only as a fief of the khan, to whose assistance he owed them.

No one of all the princes so shamefully abused the support of the Tartars, as did Yury, prince

of Mosco *. He aspired after the grand principality of Vladimir, and the readiest means of gratifying his avidity for this possession, was by endeavouring to bring over the khan to his purpose, in order by force of arms, and at the same time with the help of a tartarian host, to enable him easily to execute his project. By bribing the khan and his counsellor, by artifice and servile debasement, he so ingeniously insinuated

* Moskva, or Mosco. Concerning the original building of this city authors are at variance. Some affirm that it was reared by Oleg, the guardian of Igor, on his journey in 882 from Novgorod to Kief; others date its origin farther back, deriving the name Moskva from Mosoch, or from the ancient village Mskotova. Tatischtschef makes the appellation come from the river Moskva, which in the sarmatian language implied serpentine, as in its course it makes a great number of windings. Which of these two opinions is most conformable to truth, cannot now be determined; only thus much is known, that Moskva at first was a detached town, appertaining to the principality of Vladimir. On the irruption of the Tartars it shared the same fate with the others. Its consideration and enlargement only commenced at the time when Ivan Kalita transferred thither the grand princely throne, and the metropolitans had their residence there, with whom, as the heads of the church, all Russia was in connexion; but notwithstanding that, they took their title from Kief as an older city, till at length the Poles got possession of it, and appointed no particular metropolitane there. *Tat. iß. kn. ii. p. 478.*

himself

himself into the good graces of the horde, that the khan promised and gave him, not only auxiliary troops, but even his sister to wife, and thus entered into so close a connexion with Yury, as no russian prince had ever yet been able to boast of. With a tartarian army under his orders, by which his own troops were numerously reinforced, Yury now set out upon his march for conquering the principality of Vladimir, and for raising himself to that throne in the place of the worthy grand-prince Michael. But Michael proved successful in the defence of his dominion, put Yury and his Tartars to the route more than once, compelled them to a disgraceful retreat, and even the khan's sister, Yury's consort, fell into his hands. Incensed at this shocking disaster, the leader of the Tartars turned his thoughts to invent some signal revenge upon Michael, and employed every means his imagination could suggest to exasperate the khan against the grand-prince. The death of the captive sister of the khan happening shortly after, of which Michael was probably altogether innocent, furnished the insidious chieftain with a prime article of accusation against him, he positively affirming that Michael had caused her to be poisoned. The khan summoned the grand-prince to the horde. All appearances seemed to presage that he was going to

encounter a cruel death. He chose previously to send one of his sons to assure the khan of his hearty devotedness to him, and to inform him of his kinsman Yury's treachery: in vain. The khan insisted upon it that the grand-prince should himself appear. His other sons, who foreboded some great misfortune to their father, intreated him that they might be permitted to go to the khan in his stead, to let him vent his anger upon them; and, if it must be so, to pacify him by their death. A convincing proof that Michael was a good prince, is, that he was so much beloved by his children. The father, however, could by no means be persuaded from his purpose; he settled the necessary preparations for his journey; and, in the sure expectation of death, previously made his testament*. By a quantity of rich presents he endeavoured to soften towards him the hearts of the khan and the great men in the horde, at the same time emphatically representing to them, that nothing but his innocence, in regard to the death of the sister of the khan, could enable him to appear so boldly there. But his implacable adversary had already prepossessed all his judges against him. Yury himself was the accuser; and the

* In the year 1319.

chieftain of the Tartars, who had been defeated by Michael, and was thirsting for revenge, took the foremost seat in the court commissioned to try him. Accordingly Michael had but little favour to expect. Sentence of death was pronounced upon him. The tartar khan, however, wishing to shew himself as a lover of justice, ordered the matter to be once more submitted to trial: this time also he was capitally convicted. Five and twenty days was the imprisoned prince kept in chains under sentence of death. A little before the time fixed for his execution, the khan caused his irons to be taken off, and allowed free access to his sons, who were in the horde, to his spiritual attendant and his friends. At last the authorized murderer appeared and executed the sentence of death upon him. Thus was perpetrated the most ignominious act that Russia could endure. One of her princes was, judicially and publicly, by the command of the tartar khan, decapitated! Yury, however, who now obtained the grand principality, and transferred the seat of it from Vladimir to Mosco, enjoyed not long the success which he had purchased by murder. Michael's son brought him into suspicion with the khan, by alleging that he was constantly aiming at aggrandizing himself, only to enable him to withdraw his obedience

from the khan ; and, as Yury was hastening into the horde to refute the charge of his adversary, the son of Michael thrust him through with his sword *. If this manifestation of irritated filial sensibility cannot be approved, it is, however, easily explicable, as the son must have been dreadfully enraged at hearing what was related to him in the horde, of the unfeeling behaviour of Yury towards his unhappy father †. But the khan punished this act of personal revenge by another execution ; and now appointed Alexander, second son of the decapitated Michael, who was prince of Tver, to be grand-prince. This too, like his father and brother, lost his life in the horde. A report had come to his ears, that the Tartars abiding in Tver had contrived a plot to murder him. Alexander, therefore, thought it his duty to prevent the execution of

* In the year 1326.

† Yury coldly viewed his body after execution, as it lay naked and bleeding in his tent. This insensibility provoked even the tartar general, who had been most instrumental in procuring Michael's death. "How canst thou," said he to Yury, "stand looking at the corpse of thy aged kinsman, lying naked there before thee?" Yury, here too a hypocrite, as though he wished to honour the relation and the prince, even in the enemy, caused the body to be conveyed into Russia.

this

this plan, by causing the Tartars to be put to death, so that only those who adopted christianity were allowed to escape with their lives *. Khan Ufbek was justly incensed at this atrocious act, and his rage grew more inflamed on finding that one of his near relations was among the persons killed. Upon this he not only gave away the grand princely dignity, but also the hereditary dominions of Alexander, the principality of Tver, to another prince, with the injunction to pursue Alexander everywhere, and if it were possible to deliver him into his hands. Long did Alexander wander about the country, but nowhere could find any repose. At length, however, he found means to pacify the khan ; and, on a visit to the horde, to regain his favour, insomuch that he restored him his principality. But Ivan, prince of Mosco, brother of prince Yury, who had artfully procured from the khan his elevation to be grand-prince in the room of Alexander †, and seemed to have inherited his brother's hatred against Michael and his family, excited afresh the indignation of the khan, who could not be appeased till Alexander and his son were both slain at once in the horde ‡. Thus the princes of Mosco were ever working in secret to gain the friendship

* In the year 1327.

† 1328.

‡ 1329.

of the khans for the augmentation of their power, while the khans who favoured them had not even the slightest suspicion that these very moscovian princes, by the boons they granted them, would gradually become so strong as to break the shackles which the Tartars had imposed on the russian empire. Since the time of Ivan, the grand princely dignity remained with the princes of Mosco *, which in the sequel united again into one empire all the separate principalities that acknowledged their sole sovereignty as tzars of Russia. This indeed was not brought about till after repeated and severe conflicts with the Tartars, and the power of these inveterate ene-

* Some derive the origin of Mosco from the following occasion. Prior to the incursion of the Tartars, a grand-prince Yury had heard much talk of the beautiful wife of the owner of a domain in those parts. He sent orders for both of them to appear before him. The husband, perceiving the prince's design, refused to come. This was imputed to him as a heinous offence, and he was executed for it. The grand-prince was assiduous in his visits to the widow, and these occasioned the district to be constantly more and more built upon; as the grand-prince and his suite often lived here for a long while together, which again attracted hither many other persons, who found their advantage in remaining. Yury himself caused many houses to be built: and thus by insensible degrees arose here the future residence of the grand-princes and tzars of Russia.

mies of the russian empire likewise now declined from the very same cause by which that of Russia had gradually fallen so low, that is, from the partitions that were made at several times among them.

It was a joyful phænomenon, the only one of the kind in the history of the russian empire, that Simeon the son and successor of the grand prince Ivan, reigned amicably in conjunction with his brethren in the grand principality of Mosco*: a resolution which indeed the whole russian history might have powerfully impelled them to adopt, seeing, as they must have seen, that the infirmity of the empire originated solely from domestic contentions and broils. Their conduct was however highly laudable; and the rather as none of the former princes had in this respect set them any good example. The grand-princes of Mosco henceforward laid the ground-work afresh

* From 1340 to 1353. — The eldest brother had the title and the dignity of the grand-prince, and the half of the revenue. The brothers swore on the sepulchre of their ancestors to this peaceable participation in their father's legacy, and kept their oath; thus, sparing the lives of the men whom they would have sacrificed in wars against each other, they saw their empire increasing in vigour, and laid the foundation of that power which enabled it by degrees to shake off the yoke of the Tartars.

of the future grandeur of the russian empire: the other less considerable princes went on in the old practice of contention and strife, and multitudes of their subjects joined themselves to the moscovian principality, where they might live unmolested: by which means this empire was daily consolidating, the population continually increasing, so that the grand-princes often found themselves in a capacity to keep a curb upon the smaller princes and to restore the grand princely consequence and authority. The tie which subsisted between the Russians and the Tartars, was now, upon the separation of the latter into several hordes, becoming constantly looser; the tributes were no longer so punctually and so largely paid to the khans: and, though they thought by sudden eruptions and predatory expeditions at times to distrain as it were for what was now no longer given with good-will, yet the dread of this mighty foe had so much diminished among the Russians, that even particular russian princes not only routed particular hordes of Tartars, but at times even a band of bold Russians would attack and plunder a tartarian horde.

Under the grand-prince DMITRI the Russians received the plainest possible proof that the Tartars were no longer invincible, and therefore not so tremendous as formerly. This grand-prince,

prince, dependent on the khan of the Tartars of the Don and who had his residence at Mosco, possessed a tolerable share of ambition, and had judgment enough to keep up his consequence among the other princes to so high a degree that they took their principalities as fiefs belonging to him. And though the prince of Tver, supported by the Tartars, refused the longest to make this acknowledgment of the grand princely supremacy, he was obliged at last to submit. Mamai, then khan of the donskoi Tartars*, who strove to maintain the superiority over Russia, seeing the consequence which Dmitri was judiciously acquiring, thought it not expedient to remain a quiet spectator, but that it behoved him to employ every means to render himself again formidable as khan, by force of arms, to the grand-prince as well as to the other russian princes. Dmitri, informed of this project of Mamai's, by his spies in the horde, of whom the grand-prince always kept several there, was now so fortunate as to induce the greater part of the

* From the Tartars of Kaptfchak, who formerly were subject to only one khan, several hordes were gradually formed, who had frequent and bloody wars with one another. There were Tartars of the Don, of the Volga, of Nogay, of the Krim, of Kazan, and of Astrakhan. Sometimes two or more hordes united together again.

russian princes to promise that they would combine with him to make head against the tartar power. Mamai, fearing that the grand-prince might attack him ere he had made the necessary preparations for his reception, endeavoured in the mean time to conceal his intentions, in order to gain time for arming. He sent therefore an embassy to the grand-prince complaining of the smallness of the tribute at present paid him. The grand-prince appealed to the treaty, by which it was agreed that the former tribute should be lowered; and, that he might first try what gentle methods would effect, he dispatched a counter embassy to Mamai. But the khan now requiring that the grand-prince should appear before him in person, where he would certainly have met with the fate of Michael and Alexander, almost all the russian princes offered him their assistance to give battle to the khan. The recollection of the horrid cruelties which the Tartars had exercised on their frequent incursions into Russia, augmented the number of combatants who resolved to debar this inveterate foe from a new invasion of the empire. To this was added religious zeal. It was now dreaded lest these Tartars, in their furious progress, might entirely extirpate christianity from Russia; they were accordingly considered as the
declared

declared enemies of religion, and the clergy decreed the immacessible crown of martyrdom to such as should fall in battle against these infidels. This war, therefore, entered into for the protection of the country, had at the same time the sanction of being a holy war undertaken for the defence of religion. No wonder then that the battalions of the grand-prince and the other confederate princes acquired an accession of numbers from day to day, and Dmitri at length had collected about him an army of two hundred thousand men. Firm in the persuasion that he was fighting in the cause of justice, and covered with the benedictions of the clergy as a warrior contending for the faith, Dmitri set out with this army from Mosco. Being come to the Don, he put it to the choice of the troops, whether they would go to encounter the foe who were encamped at no great distance from the opposite shore of the river, or remain on this side and wait the attack? The general voice declared for going over to the assault. — The grand-prince now transported his battalions across the river, and then turned the vessels adrift, in order to cut off all hopes of escaping by retreat. They soon fell upon the enemy, who was at least three times stronger in numbers. The fight began. The Russians defended themselves valiantly

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against the furious attacks of the Tartars; the hosts of combatants pressed in such numbers to the field of battle, that multitudes of them were trampled under foot by the tumult of men and horses. The Tartars, continually relieved by fresh bodies of soldiers as any part was fatigued by the conflict, seemed at length to have victory on their side. Nothing but the impossibility of getting over the river, and the firm persuasion that death would directly transport them from the hands of the infidel enemy into the mansions of bliss, restrained the Russians from a general flight. But all at once, at the very moment when every thing seemed to be lost, a detachment of the grand-prince's army, which he had stationed as a reserve, and which till now had remained inactive and quite unobserved, came up in full unabated force, fell upon the rear of the Tartars, and threw them into such amazement and terror, that they took to flight with Mamai at their head, and left the Russians masters of the field. This victory however cost them dear; as thousands lay dead upon the ground *. Though, in com-

* The whole army remained here eight days only to bury the bodies of the dead Russians: those of the Tartars were left uninterred upon the ground.

parifon with what threatened Ruffia, in cafe the Tartars had fucceeded in their irruption into the empire; even this prodigious lofs of men was to be computed as fmall. Befides, this fortunate battle* taught the ruffian princes, that nothing was wanting but union among them, if they once refolved to throw off the tartarian yoke; and thus this victory on the Don, on account whereof Dmitri obtained the furname of Donfkoy, ferved principally as an incitement to the fubfequent gallant efforts of the grand-princes againft the fovereignty of the Tartars, which alfo were attended with the moft happy effects. This certainly was not brought about at once; and Dmitri's victory could not prevent the Tartars from foon after† invading Ruffia again and penetrating as far as Mosco under the command of a khan, who had united the horde of the Don with that of the Volga. The capital, being provided with ramparts and iron gates, feemed now in a condition to hold out againft fuch an attack; and accordingly the grand-prince gave the command of it to one of his generals, while he went to levy an army among the neighbouring princes. But the metropolitan, and with him a great part of the inhabitants, quitted the

* In the year 1380.

† In the year 1382.

city, a circumstance which engendered and diffused timidity even among the defenders that staid behind. The Tartars promised pardon if the town were surrendered; but murder and conflagration were all that they gave. After desolating the capital they returned. Dmitri thinking it prudent to submit to superior force, sent ambassadors to the khan begging for his confirmation in the dignity of grand-prince, but inculcated it in his last will on his successors henceforth to endeavour with all their abilities to free themselves soon from the dominion and galling yoke of the uncivilized Tartars.

A new and still heavier bondage, however, seemed now preparing for the empire on the appearance of a conqueror not less renowned in history than Tschinghis khan. Tamerlan*, originally a petty prince in the great Bukharia, found the means not only of making himself in a short time sovereign of all his native country, but even soon mastered the lesser Bukharia and Persia, the Tartars of the Don and of the Volga, and with his army, about the year 1396, penetrated quite to Mosco. The great quantity of

* His name was Timur. Being lame of the right leg he obtained the surname Lenki; and this Timurlenki has in Europe been changed into Tamerlan.

treasure carried off on this occasion by his troops, had nearly induced Tamerlan to take that route again; and then Russia would have been in more imminent danger than ever. But, fortunately for her, the greater treasures of India had superior charms for Tamerlan in his rage for plunder and conquest, and saved the empire from his unwelcome visit.

During the period of which we are writing the power and consequence of the grand-princes of Mosco had gone out perpetually increasing. VASSILLY, the son of Dmitri, even caused himself to be crowned, which no grand-prince, since the sovereignty of the Tartars, had ventured to do. But in proportion as the grand principality of Mosco was continually rising, on the other hand that of Kief was as constantly declining. The various conflicts about Kief had withal very much weakened it. The Tartars in 1240 had conquered the capital, reduced the whole country almost to a desert, and there set up princes dependent on the khan. Gedemin, duke of Lithuania, seized on the enfeebled principality that lay so near him, overthrew in 1320 Stanislaus its reigning prince, who was sprung from the old grand-princely family, and now united this former grand principality with his own of Lithuania, whereby it afterwards devolved to

Poland, but, after a separation of more than three hundred years, came back to Russia.

Kief in the south being thus severed from the russian empire, the neighbouring Poles, Swedes, and Hungarians*, endeavoured to get possession of the several countries belonging to Russia that lay contiguous to them.

But Russia assumed a totally different aspect on the accession of IVAN I. to the throne, a covetous, enterprising prince, who, instigated moreover by his consort, a grecian princess, exerted all his faculties to deliver himself from the ignominious yoke of the Tartars, which several of his predecessors had already struggled to shake off, to restore the authority and domination of the grand-prince over the rest of the princes, to enlarge the borders of his empire, to re-unite with it the parts that had been torn away by the neighbours, and to settle the power of the grand-princes on a firm and lasting foundation. At the age of only three-and-twenty years he ascended the throne, in 1462, but with the courage and resolution of a man determined to execute what he deemed to be

* These seized upon Halitsch and Vladimir, but were obliged to relinquish them to the Poles in the middle of the fourteenth century.

right and expedient. Indeed he sometimes, in the execution of his plans, employed means that bordered on injustice and cruelty ; but this he did in common with all conquerors.

His first undertaking was not only to withdraw his allegiance from the Tartars, but to subjugate and as far as possible to exterminate them entirely ; and at the execution of this he laboured with unremitted assiduity. It is true they were no longer the old formidable enemy, as their power was very much divided ; yet they were ever, as opportunities offered, making inroads into Russia, carrying off captives by thousands, destroying towns and villages by fire, and frequently insisted upon the homage of the russian prince. Ivan resolved to put a stop to these proceedings, cost what it would ; he was determined to set his empire in security from the predatory expeditions of these hordes, and teach them moreover to respect his authority. It was those of Kazan whom he pitched upon for the purpose of beginning, by their suppression, the subjugation of all the Tartars. Two campaigns undertaken against them, in 1460 and 1468, were not indeed successful ; but the third, in 1470, terminated in an accommodation very honourable to him, in virtue whereof, though the khan was

to remain prince of his own Tartars, yet to be dependent on the grand-prince, and to accept his dominion as a fief from him. The khan of the golden horde, who demanded the former homage and tribute, on the refusal of Ivan to comply with the requisition, and his not appearing in the horde on the citation of the khan, penetrated, in 1477, into Russia : but Ivan dexterously took advantage of the absence of the khan and his warriors to make an attack upon the horde, and brought home with him considerable spoil. This determined the khan to hasten back from Russia ; but in the mean time another tartarian horde, on the retreat of the Russians, carried off the women and children, destroyed the dwellings, and now fell upon the returning khan himself, routed his army and made an end of what was called the Golden Horde, from the ruins whereof the kazanian and krimean Tartars now greatly increased their numbers.

Having subdued the kazanian Tartars and freed himself from the golden horde, Ivan now turned his arms against the Poles and Lithuanians. He was everywhere successful and victorious. From the Lithuanians he retook many places that had been rent by them from Russia. He likewise, in 1486, united, not indeed in
the

the most equitable * manner, the considerable principality of Tver with the grand principality ; and thus, as the rest of the separate principalities had one by one been recovered by some of his ancestors to the grand principality, with the sole exception of that of Severia, which still had its peculiar sovereign, he united in his grasp the collective force of the whole russian empire. He therefore was able to get on foot a great military force, which was the more formidable to the Tartars, as Ivan had now got fire-arms and cannon, and had learned to use them in war†, an advantage of which the Tartars were destitute.

The power of Ivan pressed hardest upon the opulent city of Novgorod, which, in consequence of its wealth, its authority, and its privileges, frequently behaved with arrogance towards its rulers, and towards the grand-prince. A plot being formed at Novgorod for the purpose of uniting that principality with Lithuania, and thereby with the kingdom of Poland, Ivan had

* The subjects of the prince of Tver having risen in rebellion, applied for assistance of the grand-prince against their prince ; Ivan readily complied with their request, and on that occasion united Tver with the grand principality.

† By means of an Italian, Aristotle of Bologna, whom he took into his service as an architect, mint-master, and founder.

first recourse to gentle methods, admonished the Novgorodians by an ambassador * to adhere faithfully to him — they returned him a scornful answer; he threatened them with war—they armed for resistance.

With three armies Ivan now broke in upon their territory on three different sides, and was the more rapidly victorious, as they were not supported from Lithuania. The vanquished Novgorodians then consented to own him for their master, on the same terms as their former princes had paid obedience. But Ivan demanded from Novgorod the same unconditional and unlimited obedience as was paid him at Mosco, and took whatever they would not voluntarily give him. He immediately broke up the popular assemblies customarily held for ages past †, abrogated the privileges of the city, demanded

* In the year 1471.

† He even caused the great bell, which was tolled when the people were to meet, to be conveyed to Mosco. It must be said, however, that these popular assemblies were tumultuous enough. Was any one, for example, accused of some grievous crime, the judges assembled at the sound of the great bell to hold a court of justice, and the people appeared to execute the sentence. Every inhabitant with his grown up sons, brought each two stones under their arms. If the culprit was condemned, lapidation followed; this done;

demande the surrender of a great part of their territories, sentenced numbers of the inhabitants to death, confiscated the estates of the condemned and of many others, and is said to have conveyed to Mosco three hundred cart loads of gold, silver, and precious stones, and still more of furs, cloths, and other merchandize, the amount of his several seizures. On his having quitted the city, however, some discontents at his violent measures breaking out, which had been awed by his presence, he then conveyed, in 1485, fifty of the principal novgorodian families, who were the foremost in these discontents, into other russian towns, and repeated this transplantation a few years afterwards *, by distributing thousands of considerable Novgorodians into various towns of his empire, and sending others from among the more loyal of his subjects in their place to Novgorod. By these proceedings the flourishing commerce of this city must have received a very sensible shock; but it suffered still more by the imprisonment of all the german merchants residing in Novgorod, to the number of nine and

done, his house was plundered and then pulled down, and the vacant spot was sold for the benefit of the corporation chest.

* In the years 1487, 1489.

forty *. Not content with this, Ivan now confiscated all the merchandizes belonging to the hanseatic league †, amounting to an immense value for those times ‡. From this period Novgorod never recovered its former splendor; and, to secure its obedience, Ivan appointed a viceroy there.

In his invasion of Livonia and Esthonia, against which he marched his troops, on being extraordinarily provoked at some irreverend expressions which the people of Reval had taken the liberty to utter against him, he met with a stouter resistance §.

The kazanian Tartars too made a hard struggle towards the latter end of his reign ||, for shaking off the russian yoke he had imposed upon them;

* In the year 1494.

† Of which more hereafter.

‡ Ivan, however, afterwards restored to the merchants their liberty, but not their goods. The liberated merchants met with a storm on their voyage home in the Baltic, and most of them perished in the billows.

§ A Russian had been burnt at Reval, according to the law of that country, for coining counterfeit money, and another for some abominable crime. Several of the Russians thought that punishment too severe; upon which they were answered, that, if the people of Reval should catch even the grand-prince at that crime, they would burn him with no more hesitation than they would a dog.

|| He died in 1505.

but Ivan had so firmly established the grand princely authority, that his son VASSILLY was very well able to keep the Tartars in awe. They indeed did set up a new khan at Kazan, but a russian voivode, who was associated with him, properly directed the government conformably with the will of the grand-prince, as in our times the russian ambassador always reigned by king Stanislaus; and, notwithstanding the two short revolutions in Poland, afterwards soon reigned again. The Kazanians, however, could by no means relish such a government; they murdered the russian vicegerent, expelled their khan, united themselves with the krimean Tartars, and carried their arms even to the gates of Mosco *, where the grand-prince could only purchase an exemption from a general pillage by presents, and the promise of a new oath of allegiance; though he afterwards had the good fortune once more to render himself master of Kazan. Pscove, a city that had been built by Olga, and was the rival of Novgorod in commerce, but where on that account the same free and licentious spirit prevailed as in

* 1519. The Tartars are reported to have made 300,000 prisoners on this expedition, the greater part of whom were sent to Kaffa in the Krimea, there exposed to sale, and purchased by the Turks, so that Turkey was in a manner filled with russian slaves.

that city, experienced under this grand-prince, in 1509, a similar fate with that of Novgorod; and the last distinct principality, that of Severia, accrued by him * completely to the grand principality: so that under him all the russian principalities were again united, and composed but one empire. The name TZAR † began about the close of his reign to be given to him; but it was his son and successor who first assumed that title in the stead of grand-prince.

This was IVAN VASSILLIEVITCH II. a prince who acquired, even from his subjects, the shocking surname of the TERRIBLE; he is depicted by writers of his own country as a tyrant, and by foreigners as a devil, and even in many respects certainly merited these appellations; though he

* The prince then reigning was accused of wanting to put himself under polish protection, for which he was thrown into prison, and his principality consolidated with the grand principality.

† This title occasionally appears even earlier in the russian history; and it may have begun to come up before the Tartars, but during the paramount sovereignty of that people over Russia, no grand-prince presumed to take it on himself. The old russian authors employ this title in speaking of the greek emperors; likewise some tartarian rulers called themselves tzars, and so perhaps Ivan adopted that title after he had entirely conquered the Tartars. The russian interpreters uniformly translate this word by emperor.

like-

likewise, on account of some particular actions, as well as for several regulations tending to the real benefit of his country, deserves to be numbered with the laudable rulers of the russian empire. He was no more than three years of age at the death of his father in 1533; and the empire, which the two last successive sovereigns had elevated to a high degree of consequence, had nearly become, during his minority, again the theatre of intestine wars and devastations, and again been crumbled into several parts. His paternal uncles seem to have had designs upon the throne; at least this suspicion furnished an occasion to his mother, who held the reigns of government during his minority, for having those princes taken off. The empire was, notwithstanding, in a very deplorable state. The regent gave herself up to pleasurable pursuits, being entirely unacquainted with the business of government; and on her death, in 1538, the chiefs of the nobility, who filled the highest offices, usurped the sovereign power. Hence numberless parties sprung up, and a real anarchy ensued; as almost every one of the great personages cared only for himself, for his purse and his family, and was not more unconcerned about any thing, than about the general welfare. But no sooner had the young prince attained his seventeenth

venteenth year, than he took upon himself the government, in 1547, and that with such manly fortitude and so much impresson, as were never exceeded by any russian prince before him. He saw himself surrounded on all sides by factions, and to suppress these was now the first object of his care. But in this he was not at all scrupulous in the choice of his means, employing any that occurred, so they tended to the accomplishment of his aim, were they never so harsh and severe; accordingly, his wrath not unfrequently fell indiscriminately on the innocent and on the guilty. His next care was, as much as possible, to incapacitate the Tartars, who had now recovered from the deadly blows that had been given them by Ivan, from again infesting his empire. The traces which he saw in many parts of his dominions, of the horrible desolation committed by this enemy, and which in part originated only in his father's time, prompted him to the resolution never to neglect an opportunity for making a campaign against them. Accordingly, in 1551, he marched even in the depth of winter with an army to the siege of Kazan. But the army loudly and publicly expressed their dislike to this measure, declaring that no good commander would ever think of conducting his troops, amidst the inconveniences of the winter season,

season, to sieges and battles, or go and encounter the enemy in their quarters.

Ivan, by nature extremely choleric, and immediately provoked by any opposition to his orders, punished with great severity the officers of the army, as well as many of the privates; and then, mustering the troops, he selected from them a number of warriors, whom he formed into a body, under the name of STRELTZI (guards), and which corps was the foundation of a regular standing army in Russia*: for till then, only on the breaking out of a war, the nobleman presented himself with his people, whom he armed at his own expence.

The better to keep the Kazanians in awe he did what his ancestors ought long ago to have done, he built forts against them on the frontiers: and this still not appearing sufficient to deter them from annoying the empire, he besieged Kazan† and took it by springing a mine; a me-

* Generally known under the name of *Strelitzes*, particularly on account of the share they had in the rebellion excited against Peter I. by his sister Sophia, for which that monarch punished them with dreadful severity. They were somewhat similar to the janissaries at Constantinople, undisciplined like them, and more formidable on that account than for their bravery.

† In the year 1552.

thod entirely new and surprising to the Tartars *. In this war also religion interfered, as Ivan the Terrible was a constant attendant on mass, and scarcely was Kazan in his power, but the khan must allow himself to be baptized, and the next step was to convert all the tartarian mosques into christian churches.

Thus the kasan-tartarian empire † was now annexed to Russia, as was likewise the astrakhanian only two years after ‡. But Ivan annexed

* Ivan, on his entering Kazan, after taking it by storm, say the historians, wept at the sight of the ravages that were made, and the heaps of the dead bodies. Now, certainly, that an Ivan with his hard and unfeeling heart, who would frequently cause persons to be murdered in cold blood, who was ever wantonly employing the most cruel tortures, some of which now on record are unexampled in horror, should be forced to shed tears over a conquered city, may be considered as a striking proof, that a town taken by storm must be a sight uncommonly dreadful and shocking to humanity. Would, therefore, kings and queens, and their ministers in their cabinets, so easily put their signatures to orders for storming towns, if it were possible, immediately after the storming, for them to be conducted thither, and be spectators of the havoc and cruelties committed?

† This empire is fruitful in corn, and abounds in cattle, copper, iron, and particularly fish.

‡ 1554. In the astrakhan territory, orchard fruits, the grape, and other valuable productions are cultivated. See "View of the Russian Empire," vol. iii. p. 230. 345, &c.

not

not only these empires to his country; a totally new world, an empire of uncommon magnitude expanded itself to the possession of the russian tzars under his reign, in the discovery of Siberia at that time made, the native country of animals that bear the choicest furs, the inexhaustible magazine of salt, and particularly rich in the metals of silver and copper. The grand-prince Ivan Vassillievitch had already sent out a body of men, who penetrated across the Ingrian mountains, and traversed all the districts as far as the river Oby. But, amidst the urgent affairs of government, the discoveries they made insensibly fell into oblivion. Some years afterwards a merchant, named Stroganof, who was proprietor of some saltworks on the confines of Siberia, was curious to gain a farther knowledge of that country, which was likewise inhabited by Tartars, whose khan resided in the capital Sibir. Perceiving among the persons who came to him on affairs of trade, men who belonged to no nation with which he was acquainted, he put several inquiries to them concerning the place whence they came, and once sent a few of his people with them back to their country. These people brought with them, at their return from the regions they had now explored, and which proved to be this very Siberia, a great quantity of invaluable

furs, and thus opened to their master a new road to wealth. However, not so covetous as to wish to keep this treasure to himself, he sent information of it to the court, and the attention of government was once more directed to this country. But the conquest of it, and its conjunction with Russia, was reserved for an adventurer named Timofeyef Yermak. This Yermak, at the head of a gang of Don kozaks, had made it his practice to rob and plunder the caravans and passengers that occasionally frequented the roads, as well as the inhabitants, wherever he came, and was so fortunate as to escape the search of the russian troops that had been sent out against him and his band, which consisted of not fewer than six thousand men. On their flight, he and his people accidentally came to the dwelling of Stroganof, where, hearing much talk about Siberia, and being persons who had nothing to lose, and therefore might put all to the hazard, they soon formed a plan to penetrate farther into that country, and there seek at once their safety and their fortune*. After numerous struggles and conflicts with the natives, which greatly reduced their numbers, they at length conquered the capital, and shortly after the

* In the year 1578.

whole country. Yermak now presented the fruit of his toilsome and perilous victories to his tzar Ivan, in hopes of obtaining thereby a pardon for his former depredations, which was granted him accordingly. By the building of several towns, and constructing a number of forts, the possession of this country was soon permanently secured. The less and the greater Kabardèy were also added to Russia in the reign of Ivan. This tzar, however, not only enlarged the circumference of his empire, partly by force of arms and partly by accident, but he resolved to reform his people, to render them more polished, more skilful, and industrious ; but this he found to be the most arduous enterprise he could possibly have undertaken. The insuperable impediments which threw themselves in the way of the execution of this grand work, were the principal incitements to those frequent acts of cruelty and despotism which have covered his memory with so deep a stain.

1542. He first began his attempts in this design by the publication of a new code of laws, in which he collected such of the ancient statutes as were still in being, some of which he improved, and added to their number many new ones ; hoping by this means to introduce more order into his empire, and to improve the prof-

perity of his subjects. But he presently perceived that the temper of his Russians was not to be altered by laws and regulations, but rather by harsh treatment, severe punishments, and painful corrections. Even the great men for the most part spent their lives in a torpid indolence of mind, and in a total ignorance of whatever can elevate and improve the human intellect. Ivan, who had learnt, from the foreigners he had drawn into his empire, how far better informed, more accomplished, and intelligent the members of the higher ranks in other countries were, frequently represented these differences to his courtiers — the consequence was, that they became his enemies. By this intercourse with foreigners he was enabled to form some notion of the doctrines and rites of other religious communions, and granted them a general toleration. This incensed the bigoted clergy against him, whom he had already offended by imposing on them a contribution to the exigencies of the state: — a requisition which the spiritual class had always taken much amiss from their governors. These two classes, the nobility and the clergy, now strove by every means in their power to counteract all his efforts for improving the condition of Russia; as, either from the love of their habitual indulgences, they
would

would not, or from their dullness and stupidity they could not, perceive the improvement. By this behaviour, however, the tzar was moved to adopt the resolution of forcing on his subjects the benefits they were unwilling to accept, and to make away with every one who should oppose his designs; in pursuance of which resolution he was often extremely cruel*. His punishments were generally indeed exercised upon the great, whose perverseness and obstinacy in resisting his undertakings seemed absolutely unconquerable. — But his acts of vengeance and cruelty increased as well in frequency as in horror from the time he thought

* He frequently caused, for example, the malefactors to be torn to pieces by bears. — For finding out those who were in any degree disaffected to him, he employed a body-guard, called opritschniki, or the elect. Whoever was impeached by these, was drawn forth and executed; and his property devolving to the delator, these spies and executioners (for it was they who generally executed the sentence of death) not unfrequently, for the sake of laying hold of the effects of such as they pleased, accused him though innocent. These opritschniki were precisely what the company of Marat was some years ago in France, who drowned or otherwise put to death the royalists at Nantes. Ivan likewise appointed similar drownings; as, when he caused a number of people to be brought on a frozen river, then had the ice cut round them, on which the poor wretches fell in and perished in the water.

he had detected a plot for depriving him of his life, and of transferring the empire to the kings of Poland. Besides these two causes, which irritated him so much and furnished him with opportunities for perpetually gratifying that propensity to cruelty and tortures which was now by long indulgence become to him a second nature, and whereby it was now perpetually increasing, what seem particularly to have enraged him were the oppression exercised by the great over the bulk of the people, and their rapacity which made them bend the laws for money, so that the innocent was frequently obliged to submit to the more wealthy criminal*; for towards the common people he was, upon the whole, just and liberal.

Novgorod, which Ivan had already chastised, again severely felt his power †. The archbishop of that place was suspected of having, in concert with a great part of the inhabitants, framed a plot for delivering the town and its territory into the hands of the king of Poland. Imme-

* Judges, who were convicted of having made the laws yield to money, were scourged, or drawn in gaudy cloaths about the town in a cart by the hangman's deputies. If any one already punished was caught in the same wicked practices again, he was sure of having death for his reward.

† In the year 1570.

diately on having intelligence of this, Ivan marched straight to Novgorod, and there held a horribly bloody tribunal. Whoever had been in any manner implicated in the conspiracy was executed with various circumstances of cruelty; and this was the lot of five-and-twenty thousand persons *. The city of Pskov was menaced with a similar visitation; but Ivan, on their voluntary submission, contented himself with numerous confiscations and the execution of a few monks.

Severe even to the most shocking extremes of savage cruelty as Ivan was when he thought himself obliged to punish, he had yet the satisfaction to see that the greater part of his subjects wished to retain him for their sovereign, when, in order to try their attachment or aversion to him, in 1575 he even abdicated the government, appointed prince Simeon, who was of kazanian extraction, but had been baptized, and for a long time had lived at the court of Mosco, to be tzar of Russia, and contented himself with the

* The archbishop was shut up in a monastery. — Meeting the tzar, on his entrance into Mosco, with the crozier in his hand, the tzar said to him: “Thou traitor, the staff
“ in thy hand is not a cross to bless me, but a club to knock
“ me down. Thou hast combined with the traitorous
“ townsmen. Thou callest thyself a shepherd; but thou
“ art a wolf.”

title of prince of Mosco. Hazardous as this step appeared to be, as the people, if they had really been dissatisfied with him, might have taken advantage of this abdication for rising in arms, yet Ivan had no cause to repent it. The majority of the nation on all sides loudly expressed their wish that he would himself resume the government, which he, properly speaking, continued to hold, though Simeon bore the style of tzar.

Notwithstanding the numerous obstacles tzar Ivan had to combat in his exertions for the benefit of his country, he would not be deterred from his purpose. Of the several nations of Europe he had a particular esteem for the Germans; and he was desirous of procuring from Germany men of learning and abilities, for the purpose of drawing his people gradually, by precept and example, from that barbarism in which they still were sunk, and in which they seemed very well contented to remain. To this end, therefore, he wrote to the emperor Charles V. and in 1547 sent an ambassador, named Schlitte, to that monarch, requesting that he would grant permission to a number of german literati, artists, and mechanics to come to Russia. Charles complied with his request; and Schlitte soon found some hundred

dred persons ready to try their fortunes in the northern Russia. But, on their coming to Lubeck, in order to proceed the rest of the way by sea, they were stopped. The Lubeckers, who had formerly carried on a great commerce to Russia, and even now, though the hanseatic factory was destroyed at Novgorod, continued to cherish the hope that this commerce might be restored, thought their interest essentially concerned in these measures for rendering the Russians knowing and expert, especially in matters of trade, and immediately took the alarm. They therefore put these Germans, who were going to Mosco, under arrest, and sent a petition to the emperor Charles V. to order them home. The merchants of Reval and Riga too sent deputies to Charles, to whom they represented Ivan as a prince who had no good designs in the request he had made. Many of those who had set out for Russia now turned back, but many likewise happily proceeded by a circuitous route to Mosco. Ivan, however, could not easily forgive the people of Reval and Riga for raising suspicions of this kind against him in the breast of the emperor, and detaining the people* from whom he reasonably expected

* What was not brought to effect under Charles, Ivan attempted to effectuate with better success under the emperor Ferdinand his brother

so much benefit to accrue to his country. He took his revenge on them by carrying the flames of war into Livonia, where, with as much wantonness as cruelty, he retaliated an act, in which only a few covetous merchants in Riga and Reval were concerned, on all that fell into his hands. These certainly were vexed at seeing in Russia, whither, on the interruption of the commerce between Novgorod with the hanse towns, they had a very considerable trade, establishments forming for manufacturing themselves several commodities with which they had hitherto been supplied from Germany by the merchants of Reval and Riga, and on which their profits were very great.

However, with all the acts of cruelty committed by the Russians in Livonia, Ivan could not succeed in getting that country into his power. When the master of the teutonic order thought he could no longer hold out against him, he ceded the country to Poland; and Poland, after a three years' war, retained the possession *. — With Sweden also Ivan carried on an unsuccessful war, and suffered considerable loss.

Under him the krimean Tartars ventured again upon an irruption into Russia, and even burnt the capital Mosco †, which, according to

* In the year 1582.

† 1571.

some accounts, was thirty, and to others even upwards of fifty english miles in circumference *. Ivan rebuilt it in a better style, employing in the work several foreign builders.

It was a great and unexpected satisfaction to this tzar, that, during his reign, in 1553, some Englishmen, who had sailed on a voyage of discovery, landed in Russia at the place which is at present the port of Archangel; and Ivan now became acquainted with persons of that nation, who soon, by their abilities and their deportment, acquired his favour to such a degree, that he encouraged the english commerce by all possible means, and thus opened a new channel of intercourse between his Russians and a highly polished people, whereby they obtained a fresh incitement to activity and industry. His affection for the English, in a short time proceeded so far, that he even formed the design of marrying an english lady; and he had not only the highest esteem for queen Elizabeth, but repeatedly begged of her to grant him an asylum, if he should ever be reduced to the necessity of fleeing from his subjects, who were extremely ungrateful to him. He had indeed so little reliance on his safety, that he at one time even made preparations for his departure from Russia;

* It resembled then, as it does still, a great number of towns huddled together.

but

but on the earnest solicitations of his subjects, he consented to remain, and terminated, in 1584, in peace and repose, his life and his reign.

As his irritable temper impelled him to numberless acts of cruelty, so he once, for what cause is not known *, even struck his eldest son such a violent blow on the head, with a staff that he happened to have in his hand, as to occasion his death : — an inexpressibly calamitous event for Ivan, who reproached himself with it all the rest of his life, and was productive of a series of convulsions and troubles in the empire, which only ceased with the accession of a new family to the throne : for though Ivan at his death left behind him two sons, yet the elder of them was infirm both in body and mind †, and the younger still in his infancy.

Ivan, knowing but too well the incapacity of his elder son Feodor, when dying, committed the government to three of the chief men of the empire, and to a fourth he gave in charge the edu-

* From some accounts it appears as if the prince had acted on some occasion, so as to raise suspicions in his father that he was aiming at the crown.

† It was his principal amusement, while prince, to go and strike the bells in the church belfries. (In Russia it is the practice to strike the bells with a rope tied to the clapper, rather than to ring them.) His father often forbid him ; but he found such delight in this amusement, that he would not leave it off.

cation

cation of his younger son Dmitri. Highly as the persons nominated by Ivan as administrators, must have felt themselves honoured by the confidence he placed in them by his selection, not less did that preference excite the jealousy and the envy of the other great personages of the court; and it was easy to be foreseen, that FEODOR's incapacity would split the empire into as many factions as Ivan's minority had formerly occasioned. Amid these circumstances, a certain Boris Godunof, whose sister was married to the imbecil Feodor, formed the plan of profiting by the weakness of the monarch, the reciprocal jealousy of the great men, and the discontents of the people, for getting the government into his hands, under covert of Feodor's name. To a man of his artifice it was not difficult soon to gain the confidence of that feeble prince in so high a degree, that he was properly the ruler, while Feodor had nothing but the title. Through the favour of Feodor, Boris acquired enormous riches* and great authority; both of which he employed in gaining adherents, who would be disposed to go all lengths in supporting his enterprises. Whoever stood in his way, he removed

* He had a yearly income of about a hundred thousand rubles—a very large sum certainly for those times; especially as the ruble was then worth considerably more than five shillings english.

either by imprisonment, exile to remote districts, confinement to a monastery, or by assassination. As every thing succeeded that he undertook for raising himself perpetually to greater eminence, and as in this pursuit he had no scruples of conscience to restrain him from steeping his hands in blood, it is therefore not to be wondered at that he even went so far as to make away with the heir apparent Dmitri, Ivan's younger son, that he might open a prospect of being able to maintain himself longer in the undisturbed possession of his power. To enable himself with greater facility to execute his black design, and to conceal it from the knowledge of Feodor, he first sent off the prince with his mother to a distant country town, where he caused him to be murdered shortly after, in 1591, as he was playing with his female attendant in the courtyard of the house where he was kept, and then spread the report that he died of a fever, with which account also Feodor was very well satisfied. The mother was put into a convent, and Boris was tolerably certain that nobody would dare to speak openly the truth, though many were thoroughly acquainted with the real state of the transaction. The perpetrator of the murder, that he might never bear witness against him, was put to death by the orders of him who had instigated

instigated him to the shocking deed. Whether Boris, after Dmitri's death, dispatched likewise Feodor by poison, or whether the latter made room for him by a natural death, is uncertain; but this is quite otherwise, that Boris, on the death of Feodor, the last prince of Rurik's sovereign race, in 1598, most assuredly expected that he should surmount all obstacles between him and the throne, though he was at great pains to make it believed that it was not agreeable to his wishes, as both he and his sister, the dowager tzaritza, had even embraced the life of the cloister, as a plain indication that he had formed the resolution entirely to abandon the world. But, he had already prepared many things for his election. The patriarch, who had arrived at that dignity through him, was entirely devoted to him; and that pontiff had then an almost uncontrollable influence over the people. Boris, by his liberality, by his affability towards the inferior classes of the nation, by a love of justice which he had displayed on numerous occasions, had attached a great proportion of the people to him; many of the great were among the number of his adherents; the rest did not dare to counteract the majority; and accordingly the plurality of voices were for him in the election, which was held in the palace of the patri-

arch. Boris, on receiving notification that the choice of the people had fallen on him, declined the honour, declaring in positive terms that he had adopted the resolution to live and die in a monastery. When the patriarch, however, at the head of the principal men of the nation, and attended by an extraordinary concourse of the people of Mosco, having the cross and a multitude of the figures of saints borne before them, flocked into the monastery, the artful Boris, though apparently with great reluctance, and, as it were compelled by the unanimous sollicitation of the people, repaired with them to the palace of the tzars, and suffered himself to be crowned.

The report that the krimean Tartars were meditating an attack upon the empire, furnished him with a reason for assembling the army, and at the same time with an opportunity for gaining their affection by a bounty and a hospitality unknown to former tzars, and thereby to establish himself on the throne. Though it must be owned that BORIS had not come to it in the directest way nor by the most warrantable means, yet, after he was seated on it, he performed so many services to the empire, was so provident for its prosperity and welfare, that it is matter of regret, whilst conducting himself as a laudable ruler,

ruler, he was not also the legitimate prince. For the extension of the commerce *, the arts, and the manufactures of Russia, he was extremely active; he brought foreigners into the empire, established his authority abroad, exerted himself in securing the tranquillity of the country †, received ambassadors from the several powers of Europe, gave frequent audience to the complaints and petitions of his subjects, was watchful over the impartial administration of justice; and, particularly during a famine that raged for three years successively in Russia, from 1601 to 1604, shewed himself as the true father of his country, by freely emptying his abundant coffers in the daily distribution of several thousand rubles among the poor of Mosco, as well as by forcing the nobility and the clergy to open their granaries, and sell him their store of corn at half its value, that he might then disperse it gratis to the relief of the distressed. And, after all, when these beneficent regulations were ineffectual to

* Under him the hanse towns, in 1603, made an attempt to revive the commerce that had been interrupted between Russia and Germany; and this attempt would infallibly have been crowned with success, had Boris lived longer.

† He surrounded Smolensk, which was continually disturbed by the Poles, with a rampart, and constructed the fort of Borissogrod against the turbulent Don-kozaks.

prevent a great number of people from dying of want, he caused them at least to be buried, and furnished each corpse with grave-cloaths of white linen.

Though he did so much for the benefit of the empire, and thereby acquired the love and esteem of the generality of his subjects, yet we find him very frequently cruel; which, though this conduct can neither be palliated nor excused, was partly owing to the manner in which he came by the crown. Very many of the great personages of the empire were disaffected to him on that account alone, and others from jealousy and envy of his high station; and therefore to repress their petulant and seditious dispositions, it is not surprising that, in such times and circumstances, he had frequent recourse to executions, imprisonments, and exile, in order to maintain his security. But all the precautions he had hitherto been taking for settling himself on the throne were not competent even for keeping it; as, in 1601, a person unexpectedly made his entrance on the scene of affairs, pretending to be the prince Dmitri, who was generally thought to have been murdered by order of Boris; that this order, however, was not accomplished, but that another lad was put to death in his stead, and that he was saved in a wonderful manner.

A monk,

A monk, who heard in his convent that he greatly resembled the young prince Dmitri, had the effrontery to take this personage upon him, by giving it out that he was that prince; and played his part with so much success, that had he been but more cautious and discreet in the use of it, he might have worn in peace and quietness the crown of the tzars of Russia for the rest of his life. This monk, Otrepief by name, retired from Russia into Poland, where he had the dexterity to gain the interest of some of the principal persons, to whom he entrusted it as a secret, that he was prince Dmitri, the son of Ivan, and therefore lawful successor to the throne of Russia. In order still more to ensure to himself the support of the Poles, he learned the polish language; testified also a great inclination towards the catholic religion, whereby he at once gained the attachment of the Poles as catholics, and made the roman pontiff his friend, whose patronage and blessing, on his great undertaking, he particularly obtained, by promising that, as soon as he should have placed himself on the russian throne, he would make every exertion to force back the Russians into the pale of the catholic church. The voivode of Sendomir in Poland was so captivated by this young man, who, to the outward graces of a fine person, added the charms

of an irresistible eloquence, that he promised to give him his daughter Marina to wife, whenever he should be tzar of Russia ; and Marina, a beautiful and ambitious girl, readily consented to her father's choice. By means of this respectable voivode, who was neither in want of money nor fine speeches that his son-in-law might acquire friends among the Poles, even the king of Poland was won over to the party of Dmitri. The kozaks of the Don, whom Boris was endeavouring to reduce to greater awe than they might wish, declared without hesitation for him. The news of prince Dmitri being still alive, soon found its way into Russia. Boris, who well knew that this pretended prince was an adventurer, yet dreaded that the disaffected might make use of the man to work his downfall, employed every effort to get him into custody, or at least to put a stop to his enterprize at the very outset. He prohibited all intercourse between the Russians and the Poles, sent out assassins in quest of the pretended Dmitri, with orders to kill him ; the patriarch issued an excommunication against all who should presume to give credit to this man ; Boris appealed to the testimony of the still living mother of the murdered prince Dmitri, that he was really dead ; he wrote to the king of Poland, requesting him not to countenance so detestable an

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an impostor as this Dmitri was. But all these measures failed of the desired effect, as the false Dmitri now caused to be dispersed in Russia a paper, wherein he affirmed himself to be Ivan's son, and that therefore the russian throne belonged of right to him; which declaration procured him many adherents. The courtiers, who were envious of the elevation of Boris, were delighted with this appearance; while those who knew for certain that Boris had caused Dmitri to be murdered, regarded this event as a judgment of heaven: but the greater part of the nation actually believed this Dmitri to be the true one; and since God had preserved him by a miracle, they piously resolved to concur with the hand of providence in assisting him to recover the throne. Thus, ere Dmitri appeared personally in Russia, a very numerous party was secretly formed in his behalf. He presently made his appearance on the frontiers*, attended by a regiment of polish troops and a body of kozaks. Boris sent an army to meet him. Though these greatly exceeded the forces of Dmitri in numbers, yet the fortune of the day was often in favour of the latter, animated by the personal bravery, the

* In the year 1604.

intrepidity, and eloquence * of their commander, who at length remained master of the field. This victory, gained over the superior army of the tzar, considerably augmented the number of those who believed that Dmitri was favoured of heaven, and therefore assuredly could be no impostor. To strengthen this opinion, as a conqueror he treated the prisoners with familiarity and kindness; the dead of the hostile army he caused to be decently interred, and ordered his troops to behave with humanity in the places he captured: whereas, on the other side, the russian soldiers committed horrible excesses in the districts where the inhabitants had shewn any predilection for Dmitri. It is likewise highly probable, that some of the generals of the tzar's troops were not heartily attached to Boris, and might at least wish for a revolution in the government, by having another tzar on the throne, though they did not really believe the legitimacy of Dmitri's pretensions. All these concurrent circumstances increased on one hand the adherents of Dmitri, and on the other were the occasion, that the tzar's measures for defeating this

* Previous to a battle it was usual for him to pray aloud in the sight of his army, and to commend to heaven his righteous cause.

man, who was striving for his throne and his life, had not the wished for effect. Unluckily for the tzar, just at this time, strong corruscations of northern lights, and, what was more, a comet, appeared in the sky: — phænomena which the Russians, extremely superstitious and totally ignorant of natural causes, immediately regarded as manifest demonstrations that God was pouring his vials of wrath on their devoted country, the awful effects whereof, could only be averted by supporting the cause of Dmitri, who had been hitherto so signally protected, and was now brought to light by the hand of providence. Boris, to whom Sweden had already proffered her aid, and which he at first rejected, but afterwards seemed willing to accept, might have easily concluded, from the general turn of affairs, that it would be extremely difficult and even perhaps impossible for him to oppose effectual resistance to Dmitri, and, in a moment of weakness, took poison *. On his death, though some of the principal nobility at Mosco made choice of his son to be tzar; yet, seeing now that the major part of the army had already declared for Dmitri †, so likewise the generality of the

* In the year 1605.

† A favorite of Boris, to whom the dowager tzaritzza had given the command of the army fighting against Dmitri, went over to that prince, and by persuasion and compulsion carried

the people espoused his party. Dmitri sent another manifesto to the inhabitants of Mosco, assuring them again of his lawful claim to the throne, exhorting them to be true to him ; and thereby produced so great effect, that the new tzar FEODOR, the son of Boris, was dethroned and put in prison with his mother and sister ; which done, his successful antagonist shortly after made a magnificent entry into Mosco, attended by a great number of Poles.

Having now, therefore, attained his aim, and placed himself in the throne of the tzars, he might probably have been able to maintain his seat, had he possessed, with his other good properties, a greater degree of prudence : but in this he was deficient *. He fancied, that, as he had succeeded in the main concern, all subordinate matters could be carried through at pleasure, and thus smoothed himself the way which his enemies had taken in order to his overthrow.

carried a great part of the army with him. — He soon became likewise a favourite with Dmitri, but had also a like fate with him.

* He, like Ivan, punished with particular severity the judges who suffered themselves to be corrupted ; gave audience, at least in the beginning of his reign, to his subjects, several days weekly, at which times any one might speak to him ; was a brave warrior, and uncommonly well-skilled in the management of artillery.

His

His predilection for the polish nation was such that he had not only brought with him several thousand Poles to Mosco, that he held more intercourse with the principal Poles than with the Russians, and conferred upon them high posts and dignities, but that he even connived at the extravagancies of all kinds of which they were guilty, as their contempt of the Russians, ridiculing their rites and customs, violating their wives and daughters; his partiality, everywhere apparent, for the catholic religion; his indifferency towards the public worship of the russo-greek church, and his want of reverence for the clergy; his marrying a polish lady; his disposition to polish manners; his inordinate voluptuousness*; the frequent reproaches that he made to the boyars and other great men that he had been under the necessity of forcing them to acknowledge him; — were all so manifest and shocking, that in various places discontents arose, and the joy with which he had seemed to be received at first, was not only turned into indifference, but into hatred and con-

* He caused the young Feodor Borissofitch, who had been tzar, with his mother and one sister to be strangled. But granted to a second sister of his her life, because she was beautiful, took her to him, indulged his passion with her, and then sent her into a nunnery.

tempt. DMITRI had indeed drawn over to his side even the widow of the deceased Ivan, so as that she owned him for her son *, though that acknowledgment by no means rendered the belief in his legitimacy general; and even his predilection for foreign manners was represented by his adversaries as a proof sufficiently plain, that he could not be sprung from the blood of the russian tzars †. — This aversion to him rose to its height at his marriage with Marina ‡. That she was not a native Russian, therefore not of the greek religion, that a great-armed retinue had attended her from Poland to Mosco, that at the marriage ceremony the Poles were preferred to the Russians, and the latter in general treated contemptuously; excited in the people murmurs and detestation against the tzar. But

* He sent for her out of the convent where she lived, went to meet her with a magnificent retinue, and behaved to her in all respects as her son. The tzaritzza, from fear, was obliged to play the part of the mother, otherwise he would soon have been her son no longer, but would have sent her out of the world.

† It was ridiculous enough to regard it as a proof that Dmitri was not of the tzarian blood because he mounted his horse without the help of his attendants, and rode a furious stallion. — A genuine tzar should be lifted on his horse, and only ride slowly and gravely along.

‡ In the year 1606.

when, in addition to this, the report was spread that Dmitri had constructed the timber fort before Mosco, only for the purpose of giving his bride a martial spectacle, on which occasion the Poles and his body-guard, consisting of foreigners, were to throw fire-brands and to commit a dreadful slaughter among the spectators, in order to fix him more surely on the throne, and to make away with a great number of people, their hatred to him grew even to fury, and the wish to get rid of him was clearly expressed. — Schuiskoy, a prince whom Dmitri had forely injured *, took advantage of this opportunity, put himself at the head of the enraged populace, still farther incensed by the clergy, who declaimed vehemently against the tzar as a heretic, and led them on to storm the tzarian palace. A dreadful slaughter ensued, not only among the Poles who were present, but on all that could be found in the purlieu of Mosco, where such as escaped with their lives were thrown into prisons. Dmitri himself ran off, but being overtaken by his pursuers was thrust through with a spear; and his body, being brought back, lay

* Dmitri had condemned him to death. But just as the ax was about to fall upon his neck he granted him his pardon. Schuiskoy could never forgive him for having brought him into the clutches of the hangman.

three days before the palace exposed to every insult and outrage that wanton malice could invent or rage inflict. The father-in-law, and the consort of Dmitri, with a number of Poles, were exempted from the general havoc among their countrymen, but were detained in custody.

Schuisikoy, who pretended to have had no other object in view than the delivery of his country, and at the head of the populace, who hailed him as the defender of the faith and protector of the throne against a heretic and impostor, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, had made his way into the palace, concealed beneath his feigned patriotism his real aim of making himself tzar. Accordingly, when the boyars were assembled to consult about filling the vacant throne, he managed his affairs with so much dexterity that the choice fell upon him, and he now ascended the throne which he had ravished from Dmitri.

But from this time Russia may date the commencement of the most calamitous period of her existence, when for several years, consecutively, the most flagrant excesses were in full career, and by the operation of which it is a reasonable cause of amazement that consequences still more direful were not produced, and that the neighbouring powers omitted to take more advantage of
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the confusion that ensued to their own profit. — The competitors for the crown, discontented at SCHUISKOV's elevation, soon spread it abroad that Dmitri, who was thought to have been slain in the late insurrection, was still alive, and that, in spite of all that was alleged, notwithstanding even the testimony of the tzaritzza, who now freely confessed that she had been forced to support the imposture as the only means of saving her life, he was the true Dmitri. Indeed this Dmitri did not appear; but the Poles, enraged at the fate of their countrymen in Mosco, were not long in producing a new pretender to the throne; who, it is reported, had been a school-master in Poland, and whom they asserted to be the very Dmitri who was supposed to be murdered. Marina herself, whom Schuiskoy had set at liberty, but who now wished for nothing more than at once to wreak her vengeance on him as the assassin of her husband, and to sooth her ambition by indulging the hope of thus replacing herself on the throne, in presence of the whole army, which in hopes of making very large booty in Russia had been raised in behalf of the new impostor, she embraced this second Dmitri as her spouse, who had happily escaped during the insurrection at Mosco; whereat both shed tears of joy, and thenceforward cohabited together.

together. — This new impostor likewise, as well as the former, had presently about him a great body of adherents, who, though the generality of them knew well enough that he was not Dmitri, but an impudent cheat, nevertheless adhered to him, it being not utterly improbable that he too, perhaps, amidst the universal prevalence of party spirit, might be raised to the throne, and would then shew himself, as he had all along promised, grateful and bountiful to those who had stood by him. Thus was Schuiskoy perpetually harassed amid the success after which he had so zealously striven, by incessant and increasing disturbance. Though the second Dmitri had been killed by the Tartars, yet there seemed no end to the succession of fresh impostors, and the result of it was, that Schuiskoy was obliged to renounce the crown, to be shaven and to adopt the cowl; in that state he was delivered up to the Poles and died in a dungeon.

The Swedes and Poles, as neighbours to the Russian empire, had the most favourable opportunity that could have offered for benefiting from the general confusion of the country and the parties into which it was divided: nor did they leave that opportunity altogether unemployed.

In 1609 the king of Poland marched an army into Russia, and though it was long ere those Poles, who had adhered to the two false Dmitris, and required a great reward from the king if they would come over to him, coalesced with that prince, yet it was at length brought to effect; and the persons employed in this negotiation so artfully succeeded in ingratiating themselves by imperceptible degrees with the Russians, that they even came to the resolution of setting the polish prince Vladislaf on the russian throne, did homage to him in Mosco by proxy during his absence, and surrendered the city to the polish troops *. But, because the Russians insisted that Vladislaf should adopt the greek religion, and because the king afterwards repented that he had not himself accepted the crown which he seemed to envy his son, he delayed from time to time the sending of him to Mosco, still cherishing the hope, that, even now, supported by his army, he might unite Poland and Russia under one sceptre. During these delays, however, the inclination of the Russians to the Poles had time to cool, and had sensibly abated. The polish troops in Russia, particularly those stationed in Mosco, having been guilty of numberless ex-

* In the year 1610.

cesses, altercations between them and the natives frequently arose, which now broke out into open hostilities. The Poles set fire to Mosco, massacred about a hundred thousand Russians, made a general plunder of the town, carried away a great quantity of treasure, and retreated with it into the citadel. It cost the Russians for a long time, many struggles and several hard battles ere they could get quit of this dangerous enemy, with whom they formerly had hopes of living in amity. At last, however, the Russians conquered, drove the Poles out of Mosco, and forced them shortly after to evacuate the empire. The king of Poland now, hoping to retrieve his mistakes and make up for his long delays, would willingly have sent his son and consented to the proposed stipulations: but it was too late; in the present temper of the nation the minds of men were extremely exasperated against the Poles, and nothing was farther from their inclination than to submit to a polish prince.

Not to be behind hand with the Poles, Sweden had likewise endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles with which Russia was convulsed: she captured Kexholm, and even Novgorod. The Novgorodians sent ambassadors to king Charles the IXth. requesting one of his sons. Charles in the mean time died. Gustavus

tavus Adolphus, by whom he was succeeded, was as little disposed to place his brother on the throne of Russia, as Sigismund of Poland had been eager to advance his son to that exalted station. Preferring to possess the russian crown himself, in union with the swedish, he wrote to the Novgorodians that he would come to them in person. The Swedes, however, who were in possession of Novgorod, with a great part of that principality, behaving no better than the Poles had done in the rest of Russia, they rendered the Russians more averse to them from day to day.

But in 1613, it being clearly the general desire to have a sovereign, by whom peace and order might be restored throughout the empire; in the choice they proposed to make, no regard was had to Sweden, but it unanimously fell on a native Russian, a youth of sixteen, Mikhaila Federovitch, of the house of Romanof, which was some way related to the ancient family of the tzars *, and whose father, metropolitan of Rostof, was held in general estimation.

Thus then, after such a long series of confusion and disaster, a new family came upon the

* The consort of Ivan II. was born a Romanovna.

russian throne, from which Peter the First descended, who contributed in an uncommon degree to raise the grandeur of the monarchy on the foundation which was already laid. We have seen what great perils and calamities were brought upon the empire by partitions, and the wars that arose from them, afterwards by the invasions and tyranny of the Tartars, and lastly by the disturbances that prevailed while the false Dmitris were acting their parts; what danger it ran of being erased from the line of european states, yet how it rose again under the two Ivans, and at the commencement of the seventeenth century, under Mikhaila Federovitch Romanof, to a very eminent station. Still more did this consequence of the russian empire gain under Peter the Great and his great successor Catharine the Second.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
STATE OF CIVILIZATION
IN THE
RUSSIAN NATION
TO THE TIME OF
TZAR MIKHAILA FEDEROVITCH ROMANOF.

THE ancient Slaves*, a people who probably migrated from Armenia into Europe; where, dividing into various stems, after peopling Poland, Silesia, Moravia, and other countries, they spread themselves likewise into Russia.

* On their coming into connexion with nations who spoke a different language from theirs, they called themselves in their tongue SLAVES (*speaking*: who may be understood), and foreigners were named by them: NIEMETZ (*dumb*: whose language was not understood). Hence it is that at this day the Germans are termed *Niemetz*; plural *Niemtzi*.

The very same character that is attributed by the ancient writers to the Slaves is still observable in the russian nation. Hospitality, valour, cruelty to enemies, fondness for ebriety, contentedness with the necessaries of life, jollity, and good humour; these characteristics of the ancient Slaves the Russians have retained to this day.

War was one of the principal occupations of the Slaves; courage and intrepidity against the enemy the fairest and most eminent quality that was prized in mankind; and boyar, or warrior, the most honorable appellation of the individual. Men, who distinguished themselves in battle, and exclusively obtained this surname, enjoyed with it a pre-eminence in every other respect among those of their stock.

The original form of government was democracy. The people in assembly consulted on their general concerns, and the sentiments and advice of the bravest persons were particularly listened to and followed.

Traditions, usages, decrees of their judges, had the validity of written laws, which were not in being, and could not be, as alphabetic language and the art of writing were not known.

* The term voivode has a similar origin; it means a leader in war.

And

And in their simple manner of life disputes and contests were much less frequent than in countries where civilization prevails. Murder, as a consequence of their barbarism and rudeness of manners, was one of their most usual crimes; but it was left to the relations of the deceased to punish and avenge it.

The habitations of the ancient Slaves stood apart and were much dispersed; whence it was that the Greeks gave them a name which signifies *scattered*. The houses were of timber; as they knew nothing of bricks, mortar, and the bricklayer's art. The single room in their wretched houses, at once supplied the place of kitchen and chamber; which, having no passage for the smoke but by the door, was always black with dirt and soot. — Their food was coarse and bad; their drink, mead prepared from honey; or quas, a poor beverage, brewed from meal and malt; or from bran, meal and bread by fermentation.

Agriculture, rearing of cattle, the chase, and the management of bees, were, besides war, the occupation of the Slaves in modern Russia. They were, in short, totally ignorant of arts, sciences, and literature. The little trade they had was carried on by barter.

Their condition was indeed very much bettered in some respects during the period from Rurik, the first prince of Novgorod, to Romanof tzar of Russia.

The main characteristic of the people continued on the whole warlike. The wars of the first grand-princes, the design of which was to subject the neighbouring nations to the empire, the wars with the Greeks, the subsequent alternate conflicts in which the several princes were almost incessantly engaged, the struggles with the Tartars, as well as with the Hungarians, the Poles, Lithuanians, Swedes, and Livonians, uninterruptedly kept up a spirit of personal bravery during this period among the flavonian Russians, a contempt for the dangers of war, and of contending for life or death with the enemy.

The former democratic government in Novgorod gave way, under Rurik, to the monarchical, in Kief much earlier, and continued in that form. But the succession to the throne was very undetermined. The son of the reigning prince did not always succeed on the death of his father; the brother of the deceased frequently seating himself on the throne, to the exclusion of the sons, who then endeavoured to substantiate their claims: and thus this indeterminate succession was generally a prime source
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of disturbance and quarrels among the several branches of the princely families, which were often decided by the fortune of arms; though sometimes the ruler appointed his successor.

The people, especially the great men, the BOYARS*, had a share in the election. The throne was filled, and the prince deposed frequently by the voice and inclination of the people. On the extinction of Rurik's line with Fedor, the boyars, as well as the superior clergy, assumed great influence in giving it a possessor. But the election of a Boris, a false Dmitri, and a Schuiskoy, was particularly conducted and supported by the inhabitants of Mosco, as the capital.

As there was no settlement in regard to the succession, it has been generally asserted by foreigners, that neither were there any stated laws or statutes for determining controversies between private individuals; but that traditions, the duel, the voice of the people, the law of the strongest, the decree of the judge or the sovereign were generally resorted to for deciding on right or wrong between the accuser and the accused: the muni-

* BOYARS, as commanders of the army, were then likewise the minister and counsellors of the prince, especially as in early times the wars were so perpetual. The sovereign conferred the dignity of boyar on whomsoever he would.

cipal law of Novgorod, published by Yaroslav for that city, being, according to them, the oldest code that is known to the country. But, that the Russians had laws long before Yaroslav, admits of no doubt. Concerning their law-book Tatischtschef, however, thus speaks in his preface to the russian Pravda, or law: “ I am of
“ opinion that these laws are derived from Van-
“ dalia. Vildebrand, the hanseatic historian,
“ affirms, that in the vandalian town Julina,
“ was anciently a wise lawgiver named Polno-
“ tatzko ; perhaps these laws originate with
“ him, and were remoulded and amplified for
“ adapting them to the Russians.” But even though this Polnotatzko were not the author of them, yet this appears indisputable, that they were brought in by the Slaves ; as they are the very laws to which Oleg I. appeals in his treaty with the grecian emperors.

On account of the contrariety of the manners of the old Russians and those of the Slaves for whom the *právdá* was composed, and from the diversity of times and circumstances, it was necessary to erase several articles in the *pravda*, to alter some, and to enlarge others. Whether this was done prior to Yaroslav, or even perhaps before Rurik, the annals have brought down to us no account. In the same design it was that Ya-
roslaf

roslaf ordered his two eldest sons, to whom, as Nestor writes, he associated some of the principal persons, to examine and to complete the antient *pravda*. The grand-princes that came after him, especially Vladimir II. his son and successor Mstislaf, and Yaropolk II. promulgated several laws, as circumstances and emergencies required, which they added to the laws that were descended to them from the Slaves, and had been improved by Yaroslav. To this double collection of statutes was given the name *Sudebnik*, by which justice was thenceforth to be administered throughout the whole russian empire. This I take to be the same *sudebnik* which tzar Ivan Vassillievitch revised and improved, as will appear from the following remarks.

The manners of the Russians might have undergone some alterations from the concurrence of various causes, and not alone from their having abandoned the wandering way of life. The chief causes of the alteration and diversity of manners among the nations settled in Russia, seem to me to be: 1. The partition of the empire into a number of separate countries; 2. The close acquaintance, and partly too the commixture of the bordering people with other national stems; 3. The subsequent conquests of the Tartars, and the long duration of their sovereignty;

reignty; 4. The changes introduced in the antient way of life, in usages and customs; 5. The dormant state of the laws, and the demolition of the former uniform mode of government.

With a change of manners the laws must likewise alter. Those laws that were suitable to the sole-sovereignty, were now, on the dismemberment of the empire into distinct countries, and especially under the yoke of the barbarians, inefficient and useless; and the rather as the manners and circumstances of the people had taken a turn so totally different. The separate princes added laws of their own, adapted to the exigencies of their subjects, to the general statutes, which were by no means consonant with the laws of the other countries; as each principality required laws of its own. This diversity of the laws produced a strong difference in manners among the nations dwelling in these territories; the inaction of the sovereign authority, and the activity of the laws under the dominion of the Tartars, finally brought this degeneracy to its lowest pitch of degradation.

On the decline of the tartarian supremacy, and on the re-union of the separate principalities, it was necessary to publish new statutes and ordinances, for giving fresh vigour to the laws,
and

and for restoring order into the spiritual and civil administration. To this end the Concilia was transcribed, and the grand-princes Ivan Vassillievitch and Vassilly Ivanovitch, the grandfather and father of tzar Ivan Vassillievitch the Terrible, published Uloshenies, of which I shall speak in the sequel. In the meantime these new laws could not fulfil the end desired, and it was found no easy task to restore the former uniformity and order in the administration of justice; the difficulties and perplexities arising from the variations in the laws of the separate countries rendering every attempt abortive. The laws could not be harmonized, so long as this diversity in manners, opinions, and advantages continued: it was time alone that could produce, without violence, this alteration. Such was the state of things when tzar Ivan Vassillievitch took into his hand the helm of government. He was aware of this disagreement, and felt the necessity of revising and improving the Sudebnik. The times were favourable to him, as nearly all the separate principalities were already subject to the sole sovereignty; and after having previously received the blessing of the metropolitan Makarius, he proceeded immediately to work. He explained himself on this subject, in his speech to the clergy, assembled at his command in 1542,

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in a council for the regulation of church matters, in the following terms: " I have received from
" you the blessing to enable me to correct the
" Sudebnik by the old one; and through your
" blessing I have corrected this Sudebnik." These are his own words; and they sufficiently shew, that the laws he gave were not new, but merely the old ones amended. But the Gramota Ustavnaia, of which I shall presently speak, is his own work, as may be concluded from the words of this speech. The Uloshenies, however, of his grandfather, as also the Gubnaia Gramota, (of which it is not known when and by whom it was composed,) remained unaltered, even after the improvement of the Sudebnik.

The tzar in this speech discourses at large to the members of the council concerning the irregularities in the government, the arbitrary judicial authority of the magnates, the contempt of the laws, the annihilation of the ancient usages, the corruption of manners, and the reasons that moved him to correct the laws, to revive their activity, and to restore order into the administration of the empire. The arbitrary judicial authority of the magnates had its origin in the separate principalities; their example was followed by the boyars and other land-owners, who assumed the like power on their domains. Each
distributed

distributed justice to his subjects at pleasure, without regarding or understanding the law of the land. Tzar Ivan Vassillievitch applied a remedy to these abuses, by improving the Sudebnik; and, that the administration of law might be everywhere uniform, and only subject to one sole chief, he appointed in the towns and districts stahrosts, bailifs, sotniks, (commanders of 100,) and patidesatniks, (who were placed over 50,) and gave them ustavnaia gramota, in which the duties of their function were clearly marked. This was the commencement of a well-regulated administration of the empire, the revivification and confirmation of the former laws, and the termination of the great power usurped by the magnates.

After the tzar had corrected the Sudebnik, and framed the Ustavnaia Gramota, he delivered them both to the assembly for their revisal, with these words: “ I here lay before you this Sudebnik, and the Ustavnaia Gramota, for your
“ perusal and judgment, in order that this our
“ work may remain before God unaltered
“ from generation to generation. If it be
“ found worthy, and be ratified by the holy
“ council, then the Sudebnik, and the Ustavnaia
“ Gramota, with our signatures affixed, shall be
“ deposited in the exchequer.” When both had been revised, ratified, and subscribed, copies
of

of them were distributed to all parts, but the original remained in the exchequer, that the successive copies, if suspected of errors, might be compared with it, and rectified accordingly.

That the Uloshenies of the grand-princes Ivan Vassillievitch and Vassilly Ivanovitch still retain their full force, even after the amplification of the Sudebnik, is confirmed by several ukases that afterwards came out, wherein references are made to it. Of this the two following instances may suffice: In the ukase of tzar Ivan Vassillievitch, bearing date May 1, 1557, that the monasteries in future shall purchase no villages without the previous knowledge and consent of the tzars, are cited the Uloshenies of the above-mentioned grand-princes. In the ukase of January 1, 1581, concerning the demesnes belonging to the monasteries, it is enjoined, that they proceed according to the directions contained in the Gramota and Uloshenie. It is much to be lamented that these Uloshenies are entirely lost.

The Sudebnik consists of 97 articles, all containing civil laws; the penal are only in some articles briefly mentioned, inasmuch as they are connected with the civil, or serve to illustrate them; concerning ecclesiastical affairs there is not one word. A distinct book was assigned to the criminal laws, under the title Gubnaia Gramota,

mota, and in cases of that nature it is appealed to from the decision of the Gubnie Starosti. This latter book is lost, and nothing more is known of it than the name, and that the civil laws refer to it.

I have before observed, that the tzar convoked a council at Mosco, in 1542, for the regulation of church matters; at this council an hundred injunctions or canons were drawn up, and the book of the acts of this convocation is therefore called the Stoglas (Hundred chapters). But this book is by no means an appendage to the Sudebnik, and cannot be attributed to Ivan's legislation. The acts of this council having been abrogated by one that followed, they cannot be considered as the ground-work of subsequent laws, as some have pretended.

If it be said that the plan of this legislation was extremely confined, particularly in matters of highest importance, and that some articles of the Sudebnik evince the cruel character of the nation, it may be replied, that the Sudebnik was the work of an age when even a very confined plan might be adequate to all the wants of a rude and unenlightened people. The plan of the first code of the Romans, known by the name of the twelve tables, and which sufficed them for some hundred years, was

not more copious. As necessity required, they were ever adding new laws : so what was wanting in the Sudebnik was supplied by the Uloshenies, the Gubnaia, and Ustavnaia Gramota, and by ukases. If the cruel temper of the nation be discoverable in the judicial trials by single combat, the same temper must be apparent among the progenitors of all the nations in Europe ; only that the Russians had this advantage, that their duels were not often mortal, as they differed very little from boxing matches.

It has been farther asserted by some, that the Sudebnik, in consonance with the old usages, inflicts capital punishment on all who plot against the life of the monarch, rebels, traitors, and incendiaries. This, however, does not apply to the old usages, but to the Gubnaia Gramota. In the Sudebnik all capital crimes are not mentioned, in order to prescribe the punishments proper to them ; because the infliction of them is not within the province of the judge of civil law causes. In one article it is enacted, that the person robbed shall be compensated from the property of the thief ; and in case his means shall be found not competent to satisfy the accuser to the whole of his demand, it is enjoined, that the thief, after undergoing the punishment of the law, shall be delivered over to the accuser for so long

long a time as until he shall have made him full amends by labour. That the judge was not bound to adhere to this law, and might not proceed with the person guilty of a capital offence, as with the thief, in the following article it is purposely added: "If the thief be a second time caught in the fact, he shall be punished with death, and not delivered over to the accuser for working out the value of the things stolen, even though his property shall not be sufficient for compensation." In like manner it is said of murderers, traitors, rebels, and others guilty of capital crimes, that they shall not be given up to the accuser for working out the damage, but to death. With what kind of death, however, they are to be punished, not a word is mentioned in the Sudebnik, as that belonged to the tribunal for cases of civil law, for which there was a separate code. The Sudebnik ordains, that penal causes shall be adjudged by the Gubnie Starosti, according to the criminal laws.

Concerning the capital punishment to be inflicted on such as intend the death of the monarch, nothing is said in the Sudebnik. The question there is solely about the murder of a master or lord. On a master being slain, a greater punishment was imposed than for killing an equal, as sacrilege was attended with a heavier

penalty than a common robbery. But concerning the difference of these punishments, nothing is certainly known, as the laws are not now extant. In the Uloshenie of tzar Alexèy Mikhailovitch, it is probable that the punishment of such malefactors was determined by the Gubnaia Gramota.

It may be necessary to say a few words here concerning the use of the torture. In the fragments of the ancient laws, commonly called the Yaroslavian statutes, nothing indeed is found in relation to the torture; but in the Sudebnik, which was nothing else than the identical law-book which subsisted till the time of Yaroslav and afterwards, the subject of the torture is expressly treated of. It is, however, enjoined, that great caution should be observed in proceeding to it, and not relying alone on the *corpus delicti*, but to go into farther examinations, that an honest man may not be liable to punishment either on a false testimony or unfounded suspicion. “ If
 “ one be taken with the stolen goods upon him,
 “ (it is said in the Sudebnik, art. 52.) and he
 “ deny the theft, then inquiries shall be made
 “ concerning him: if it appear that he is a bad
 “ man, he shall be put to the torture; but if it
 “ be seen that he is a good man, then shall the
 “ matter be decided according to law:”—that
 is,

is, the matter shall be examined and terminated by evidence, proof, and conviction; but without clear and positive proof no credit shall be given to a charge against an unsuspected person.

In framing the Uloshenie of tzar Alexey Mikhailovitch, these wise and rational rules of precaution were neglected, and the torture became indispensable on every occasion: it was now no longer only the means for unravelling the truth in cases where a criminal still obstinately persisted in denying the fact, notwithstanding the clearest evidence and conviction; but it was used to extort false confessions from the sufferer, and calumnies against himself and others. Nothing, even not his own avowal of the fact, could save him from this punishment: if a thief were convicted of the theft, and even confessed it himself, yet this was not sufficient; in pursuance of the Uloshenie he must undergo the torture. And wherefore? in order to find out whether he had not before committed some robbery, or any other crimes of which he was neither accused nor suspected. By this law the penal question, as it was called, was incomparably more severe than the punishment itself which was due to the offence. For more than a hundred years humanity sighed under this barbarous law.

Now that we are speaking of the Sudebnik, it may naturally be asked, whether the property in vassals and boors be founded on it; whether it determines the nature of it, the persons who might be bought or only hired for a time, and to whom the vassal belonged who should happen to be sold to two masters? After a careful perusal of the Sudebnik it appears, that not one word of all this is to be found in it, neither of the nature of the property, nor of the purchase or sale of the vassals, and certainly not of the boors, as they were at that time free. Only in six articles are the vassals mentioned at all; namely, in the 75th, how far a vassal belongs to his lord; in the 76th, that on the representation of the boyars, letters of licence were issued, and how much was to be paid for them; in the 77th, how free people become vassals; in the 78th, if two krepasts (judicial documents of vassalage) be produced of one vassal, then he shall devolve to him who possesses the oldest document; in the 79th, freedom shall be imparted to the vassal who comes out of captivity; in the 80th, the serving dieti boyarskie and their children shall not be taken as vassals. Nothing farther is said of vassals, and of the boors still less; since they, as was observed before, were free people, who
could

could neither be sold nor exchanged. The 84th article treats of selling, bartering, and exchanging of family estates by the relations; but concerning the vassals living upon them nothing is mentioned, because at that time they were not attached to the land, but might remove from one landlord to another at their own discretion. For this removal a particular time in the year is fixed in the Sudebnik, namely, the week before and after St. George's day in autumn; the sum is likewise settled which the boor shall pay as a fee to the nobleman on whose estate he has lived; in districts where there are no forests, one ruble six kopeeks, and in woody places 56 kopeeks. The boor who has lived a year with a nobleman, and then goes away, shall pay a quarter fee; one who has lived two whole years, a three quarter fee; if he has remained four years, a whole fee. Moreover, these removals are not allowed without previously acquainting the nobleman; the boor must first settle the account of his tribute-money in the presence of witnesses and the nobleman to whose estate he intends to go. Those who remove by stealth are to be regarded and punished as vagabonds, as well as the landlord who has admitted them without giving the notice required by law.

In consequence of this free removal of the boors, the imposts were not levied as at present, on the souls, but on the produce of the soil; the nobleman must pay them from the fourth part of the arable land, and from other profits arising from his estate and fief. Tzar Alexèy Mikhaïlovitch abolished the taxes on ground and soil, because by the devastations of the enemy and the pestilence, many tracts of country were ruined, and the nobleman could not pay anything: he laid the taxes on the manor; and this was continued till the first levy of the head-money, which was begun by an ukase of Peter the great in 1718, and was discontinued in 1722. In like manner the recruits were raised, not from the number of the souls, but from the land; namely, each hundred chetverts * of good soil, a man and horse completely accoutered, and, in case of a distant campaign, two horses; merchants and citizens paid taxes from their profits and earnings.

The dieti boyarskie (boyar-children) were not noblemen, but free people, precisely what were anciently in France the *franc archers*, or the

* A chetvert is half a desätine; and the desätine of those times amounted to 2500 square fathoms.

taupins under Charles VII. They were even descended from princely families, who were impoverished and had no estates. To each of them a piece of land was granted, from which they were to reap all the benefits, on condition that they held themselves always in readiness for service, in complete accoutrements, with horse and provisions for a whole summer. On these pieces of land boors settled and were now freeholders. As they died their children stepped into their place, and the fiefs of such as were childless reverted to the crown and were granted to others. They were called *dieti boyarskie* because in war-time they always attended the boyars, composed their guard, protected their persons, and fought in their fight; being immediately under their command. The greater part of them, that is, of those who settled boors on the lands that had been granted to them, passed over into the rank of noblemen and *odnodvortzi*; the rest enlisted themselves as *streltzi* and *kozaks*, or pledged themselves to noblemen as their vassals.

The *odnodvortzi* were all noblemen and *dieti boyarskie*; but, being fallen to decay, they became husbandmen, and called themselves *odnodvortzi*; denoting by this appellation that their whole property consisted in one manor-house, which

which they tenanted, and a piece of ground that they were forced to cultivate themselves. In process of time persons of other classes mingled with them, as superannuated strelitzes, cano-niers, and others. Several noblemen of good condition, possessing 100 or 200 souls, inscribed themselves as *odnodvortzi* under Peter the First; preferring to pay their taxes as boors to entering the military service, which every nobleman was then obliged to do by very rigorous orders. In former times it was the general lot of impoverished noblemen to become *odnodvortzi*. Peter the great, however, issued an ukase, by virtue whereof immoveable property in future was not to be divided in equal portions among the sons, as had been the custom formerly and is so at present, but should devolve to one alone according to the option and the testament of the father, and the moveable property to be equally shared among the rest (this ukase of March 23, 1714, was afterwards repealed by another); in which, among other things, he declares, that it is his intention thereby to prevent the families of distinction, by these dismemberments of their estates, from falling into decay, and being obliged to become *odnodvortzi*. The *odnodvortzi* have but this one advantage over the féudal boors, that any of them may sell a freehold piece of land

land belonging to him, but only to one of the members of his class; in short, they pay the taxes to the crown, and are no more free than the former, if he who is bound to the soil may be said to be not free. They cannot enter any other class without the permission of government, or go into another circle than that in which they are inscribed.

To return to the times of which we were speaking. There were then no other slaves than captives and their offspring, whom the nobleman might bequeath by will to his children, bestow as a marriage portion on his daughters or sell to another. By an ukase of the year 1556 it is enjoined, that captives, excepting those who have married a female slave, shall remain vassals only till the death of their lord; but the others and their posterity for ever. Those who, from free people enter into vassalage, and have made the proper inscriptions on so doing, remain slaves only till the decease of him to whom they have inscribed themselves; these can neither be sold nor given in dowry. Under the tzars Boris and Vassilly Schuiskoy an ukase was published concerning the freedom of vassals; but great damage accruing to the empire from it, it was afterwards repealed,

By

By the Sudebnik it was permitted to boors to sell themselves as vassals, and that for an indefinite term: but, by the Uloshenie of tzar Alexey Mikhailovitch, it was forbidden them; in order probably to deprive them of the means of avoiding the crown-taxes, as at that time they were levied from the manorial farm and not on the soil. The vassals, who had no tenement of their own and lived with the nobleman, were exempt from them. The prohibition, that a boor should no longer remove from one landlord to another, was the commencement of their bondage. The noblemen hence derived great advantage, and were now constantly stretching farther and farther their authority over the boors, who were forced to pay a greater obrok and to work at the hardest labours. If they shewed the least repugnance, they were considered as turbulent and seditious persons; for by the law which deprived them of voluntary removal nothing was provided concerning the degree of their labour or their submission. This indefinitude gave rise to eternal disputes and mutinies; but the noblemen were more sagacious and wealthy, and could therefore expound the laws to their own liking, so that the boors were always in the wrong. However, the noblemen, even then, had

had not the right to sell their boors and the vassals serving by indenture, and to transplant them, like trees, from one place to another. The law, which forbade the boors to be made vassals, permitted not that; the boors were distinguished from slaves only inasmuch as they were one degree above cattle and trees. This distinction, which set certain bounds to the power of the noblemen over the boors, and gave the latter an advantage above the complete vassal, continued a long time. The boors could no otherwise be sold, mortgaged, given as dower, or left by will to children, than with the land (this is naturally understood of freehold estates); no idea was as yet entertained of severing them from the land and selling them apart. The power of the nobleman over the boors of the manorial demesnes was still more limited: these he could neither sell nor mortgage, because these feudal tenures were granted only as life-rents, and not as freeholds in perpetuity. What first gave rise to the alienation of the boors apart was the mode of raising recruits from the number of the human stock; the nobles were thus shewn that vassals and their families might be severed from the land. By the ukase that placed the feudal tenures and the freeholds on an equal footing, and the lists of souls that soon followed there-

thereupon, whereby both the vassals who were indentured, and the full vassals as they were called, were entered in one and the same register with the boors, procured to the noblemen an equal right over the latter and the former. From this time forward they were as much master over the substance and lives of the boors and vassals, as they formerly were, by the ancient laws, over captives alone. There is indeed no law extant, by virtue whereof the boors are granted to the noblemen heretably and as property in fee simple; but it grew insensibly into a custom, contrary to express injunctions to make them retinue of the manor, and under this denomination to sell them singly. This unlawful procedure was at first connived at, then pervertedly expounded, and at length by long practice took the place of law.

The knaves or serfs were ever free people, and served by contracts, which were termed kabala and lietnaya. The only slaves were captives, and their children; but, being comprehended under one and the same appellation, the former, for distinction's sake, were called kabalnie (serving by indenture), and the others polnie (full) or starinnie (old) vassals. In the former class were comprized persons of various descriptions, strangers, burghers, dieti boyarskie, and

and others, only no boors; and, if they agreed on the wages, they drew up a writing, whereby they bound themselves to serve either till the death of the lord or only for a certain term of years: the former writing was called kabala, the latter lietnaya. A polnoi, or native serf, the nobleman might sell, make a present of, or give as a dower with his daughter; but the kabalnoi were free on the decease of the lord.

For exterminating vagabonds and other useless members of society, the noblemen were forbidden to take any one into their service without a written certificate confirmed by the court of judicature; on neglect whereof they could lodge no complaint if such people robbed them or ran away. A free man could obtain no livelihood unless he belonged to some known class; on his having once chosen one, he was bound to submit to all the obligations of that society of which he had been admitted a member. Each class had its peculiar duties, services, and obligations towards the state and the several members of it; idlers and vagrants were not tolerated.

The nobles, however, not content with this legalized usurpation of power over the kabalnie vassals, wanted to put them on the very same footing with the polnie or full vassals: but for this once they were a match for their masters,
and

and presented a petition to tzar Vassilly Ivanovitch Schuiskoy complaining bitterly of this infringement of their liberty. The tzar therefore issued a decree, that only captives should be made slaves; and that the vassals should serve, as heretofore, by the kabala and letnaya.

Under the denomination *tshislenie liudi* (numbered people) were meant, not the vassals, but the boors. The Tartars introduced the numbering. Their baskakes numbered all who lived in houses, possessed land, or carried on trade, and levied taxes on them; hence such as were enlisted and paid taxes were called *tshislenie liudi*. Those who had no houses and possessed no other property, and followed no trade, were, like the slaves, not taken into the revision; and, consequently, paying no taxes, this name was not applicable to them. The slaves followed their lords to the wars, to serve and to guard them; but, of numbered people, i. e. of the boors, one man in complete array, and obliged to maintain himself, was taken from each hundred farms. As it was in the option of the boors to change their abode, it was necessary to make an enumeration every year. By the revision-books it was seen how many boors dwelt in each district, and consequently the number of men fit for service was known. All noblemen, without exception,

exception, were obliged to serve, and whoever did not appear at the time appointed, was noted in the register and deprived of his demesne. Concerning the number of vassals each nobleman might retain about him, nothing was determined by law; every one might take with him as many as he would or could. They performed the same service to their lords as the shield-bearers or esquires were bound to perform in attending on the ancient knights; but for this purpose the boyars had their *snakomtzi* (acquaintance) and *deiti boyarskie*.

These *snakomtzi* (acquaintance) were, in those days of yore, poor noblemen, who lived with the magnates; but they were upon a quite different footing from the old french *ecuyers*. They ate with the great man at his table, and in idle hours were his companions; those who had talents assisted their lord in the functions of his office and managed his household concerns; but the business they did was always becoming their character, and not menial employments. When the boyar paraded to court, which was generally on horseback, the *snakomtzi* went on foot before him; and, on his arriving at the beautiful (or red) stair-case, he dismounted, on which occasion they held him under the arms, then attended him to the porch or the golden grate,

grate, and waited there till he came out; but the other people, who went by the side of the boyar, remained with his horse, and dared not go up the steps. When the boyar was invited anywhere to an entertainment, the snakomtzi were received among the guests as noblemen and not as his servants.

With regard to the laws in general, and particularly the municipal laws of Novgorod, so often mentioned, which Yaroslav gave to that city, they contained decisions in such cases, as, according to the then state of the times, might arise as subjects of litigation. Security of property and person — these main points to which every lawgiver should principally have regard are the leading articles of the novgorodian statutes. Cutting and maiming with deadly instruments must be atoned for by pecuniary mulcts; if the wounded person bear in his body the mark of the outrage, no farther evidence is necessary. Whoever breaks the arm or the leg of another shall pay him as much as the manslayer. Murder might be retaliated by the relations, who were at liberty either to kill the murderer or accept of a stated sum of money instead. He that took away the horse, the cloaths, or the weapons of another, must make restitution, with the payment of a fine to boot;

boot; and for damaging any household utensil the owner must be compensated by cattle. Excepting blood for blood in the case of relations pursuing the murderer, the individual was prohibited to do justice to himself; the decision is always to be referred to twelve select men*, before whom the culprit must appear within five days.

As a proof in what high estimation the beard was held even in those early times in Russia, — the prejudice in favour of which cost so much trouble to Peter I. — it is a law in the novgorodian code, that whoever plucks hair from another's beard shall be mulcted four times as much as for the cutting off of a finger.

There can be no doubt that the grand-princes and princes between Yaroslav and Ivan made several laws and ordinances, but we know very little for certain about them. The grand-prince Ivan in 1497 decreed, that murder committed by a servant on his lord, treacherous surrender of a fortress by the commander, sacrilege, kidnapping, house-burning, and highway-robbery, should be punished with death; but theft only when the thief had committed it a second

* Who can help thinking here of the twelve jurymen with us in England, and their decisive guilty and not guilty?

time*, and had not wherewithal to repair the loss and to pay the court-fee. For deciding in matters of right or wrong the ordinary mode of single combat between the plaintiff and defendant was now established by law. — Ivan the tzar caused the statutes to be collected, revised, amended, and made anew; but it must be owned that they still bore the marks of great rudeness, as, for example, the duel of the contending parties was not only permitted, but it was even lawful; and of course right and wrong were determined not by decision arising from reason and law, but by the stronger or weaker arm of the plaintiff or the defendant.

In this state of the laws and the administration of justice it is by no means surprising, that Ivan and Boris, who made these matters an object of their concern, so frequently detected the judges acting and deciding partially; that therefore both of them imposed such severe penalties on bribery, and found so many occasions for punishing corrupt judges. — If report may be credited, even in more enlightened times, and having stated laws, it is not quite unusual

* The culprit who was for the first time convicted of larceny, was chastised with sticks, and then delivered to the accuser as his servant.

that presents should incline the judge to pronounce in favour of him on whose side justice is not.

Rurik, so early as his times, built several towns ; Olga, Vladimir, Yaroslav and Ivan, added to their number, and transplanted into them the scattered inhabitants of the country. However, with all this construction of towns, the trades and mechanical occupations proper to them did not immediately follow. Commerce was almost the only calling which the Russians of early times carried on in the towns of the empire. Already under Oleg, laws were settled between the Greeks and Russians for the purpose of fixing the reciprocal commerce of the two nations on a stable and sure foundation. Russians who went among the Greeks on affairs of commerce, were to receive subsistence for six months, and on their return provisions and necessaries for the journey. And, forasmuch as it might frequently happen that disputes would arise which should even proceed to acts of violence, concerning affairs of bargain and sale, several additional regulations were afterwards made, in which the mode was determined whereby the differences that might happen between Greeks and Russians in their mercantile transactions might be best adjusted. These commercial laws were still

farther ascertained under Igor the successor of Oleg. The Russian merchants fetched gold, wines, fruit, corn, and articles of cloathing from the Greeks, and carried them in return honey, wax, mead, servants, tallow, and morse-teeth. The Russians had likewise a great trade with the Bulgarians. But the most brisk and considerable commerce was transacted in Novgorod and Pskove, which were commercially connected in a great variety of ways not only with Riga and Reval, but particularly with the german mercantile league, the hanse *. The hanseatic mer-

* The name Hanse (company) was borne in the thirteenth and the three following centuries by a certain number of trading cities of Germany that had united together for the promotion and protection of commerce, for guarding in those turbulent times, by a general confederacy, particularly their traffic by sea. Four-score and five cities or towns, in this design, entered into a league; and, by insensible degrees, got into their hands the whole commerce to Russia, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the other states of Europe. Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Norway, London in England, Novgorod in Russia, were their four chief marts for the foreign trade. The jealousy of the princes, to whom this league often bid defiance, the exertions of the emperor Charles V. to raise his netherland towns at the expence of the Hanse, the increasing civilization of several thriving nations, which now resolved to prosecute their own commerce, at length effected by degrees the dissolution of this league.

chants

chants kept a great counting-house in Novgorod, or as it is called in german Neugardt, and made very large profits from the commerce here carried on in the german commodities. Novgorod and Pscove at this time improved their flourishing commerce to an uncommon degree, and many of their merchants were rich and opulent. The merchants of these places stood likewise in high reputation for their honour and integrity. However, the prosperity of Novgorod greatly declined, and entirely fell off, as I have said before, in the reigns of Ivan the grand-prince and Ivan the tzar; the trade of the hanseatic towns thither ceased, and the merchants of Riga and Reval drew it all to themselves. The abovementioned transplantation of several Novgorodians and Pscovians to Mosco and other towns of the empire had the effect of conveying with them trade and industry, and the russian towns now began to attract numbers of people to them. That the Russians have an innate propensity to traffic, Peter I. who had a good knowledge of his countrymen, was fully aware, and therefore would not allow the jews to settle in his empire, because his Russians, he said, had already so great a turn that way that there was no need of propagating among them any of that mercantile nation. — A new branch of com-

merce sprung up to the Russians from the fortunate landing of an english ship in the proximity of the place now called Archangel, and the trade between the English and the Russians began soon to make a rapid progress; as it so happened that in Russia exactly at this time tzar Ivan was making efforts for the improvement of his people; and in England queen Elizabeth was likewise zealously employed in promoting enterprizes of discovery for the benefit of her country. The Portugueze and Spaniards having opened to themselves a source of wealth by the discovery of new channels of commerce with various countries, some Londoners, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, conceived the design of fitting out vessels for similar discoveries. What they had principally in view was to explore a passage to China and India. Three ships were equipped for this expedition. One of them foundered at sea; a second, being cast ashore on the coast of Lapland, the whole crew perished miserably by the extreme frost; and only the third came safely to land in a bay not far from the present city of Archangel, where stood a monastery of St. Nicholas. Here these mariners learnt that they were in the country of the tzar of Russia. Although they had not found exactly what they had been seeking, they were

were yet very much rejoiced at this accident, as having reason to hope it might prove the means of establishing an intercourse between their nation and the Russians. The commander of the ship, Richard Chancellor went to the tzar at Mosco, who gave him an extremely gracious reception, entertained him with every possible mark of hospitality, and during his stay the necessary measures were taken for facilitating a mercantile correspondence between Russia and England. The English were to supply the Russians with broad-cloth, for which they were to take in return ship-timber, wax, &c. In 1568 the English had already a capital counting-house in Mosco, and instituted a peculiar company for the trade with Russia.

On the subsequent junction of Siberia with Russia, a great augmentation was added to the products which the Russians could dispose of to foreigners, among which may be reckoned the numerous and valuable furs which Siberia affords.

The Flemings, who in general were great gainers by the downfall of the hanseatic league, were dexterous enough to draw to themselves a considerable part of the former trade to Russia.

In the reign of Boris, the Germans renewed their attempts to revive the commerce with Russia. Lubeck sent ambassadors thither; and Boris

was

was much inclined to grant them the same immunities which the late german commerce had enjoyed, an exemption from duties ; as had been the case with all goods brought in from the hanse-towns, and to allow them again to open a counting-house in Novgorod. But the tzar died ere the business could be brought to bear ; and, during the troubles that followed, nothing of the sort was to be thought of, as commerce was thereby exceedingly injured, and in the tumults that arose upon the marriage of the spurious Dmitri, and terminated in his death, a great number of merchants who had come from Poland to Mosco in the train of Marina, fell victims to the fury of a populace incensed against the Poles, and all foreigners in general. Trade and commerce of course suffered a great declension in those sad times, from the appearance of the false Dmitris to the accession of the house of Romanof.

The first commerce of the Russians with other nations was by way of barter, but they were soon taught the use of money, particularly in Novgorod and Pscove, by the Germans. For some time, however, gold and silver continued to be commodities, being bought and sold like other articles of trade. In the fifteenth century the Novgorodians and Pscovians first began to coin money,

money, to employ it in payment for goods, and now transacted business like other european nations.

Commerce excepted, the Russians, in all other arts and attainments, in mechanics, trades, works of ingenuity, manufactures, and sciences, remained extremely far behind the rest of Europe. It is generally apparent from the history of the formation of the russian people, that they have always been averse to spontaneous action, to original production and exertion of their own proper faculties and powers, attempts and inventions; but have rather required to be roused by outward impulses, by regulations and ordinances of their rulers, so that they are mostly indebted for their improvement to strangers and foreigners. It is undoubtedly a leading feature in the ancient Russians, that they were too easily contented with what they possessed, never once reflecting how this or that might be bettered, how one product or another might be wrought up and turned to use. They must always have some foreign guidance and instruction.

Ivan the grand-prince, Ivan the tzar, and Boris, did most in this respect for the culture of the nation. Ivan the grand-prince brought into his empire a great many foreign artists, but they consisted

consisted almost entirely of people skilled in what related to the construction and use of fire-arms, which had lately been brought into practice in Russia: Ivan, besides the Italian, Aristotle of Bologna, formerly mentioned, took into his service several german gunners and bombardeers. Ivan the tzar went farther in his efforts to attract expert foreigners into his country. Of his writing to the emperor Charles V. I have said something before. When the Lubeckers and Livonians had frustrated him in the object of his request, he renewed it to the succeeding emperor Ferdinand, to whom he wrote, among other matters, the following: “ We request, for the sake of
 “ illuminating, reforming, and improving our
 “ principality and countries, whereof we have
 “ taken several from the barbarians, and neglect nothing daily to take more, to send us
 “ some doctors of both laws, and experienced
 “ high-understanding men in several kinds of
 “ worldly matters and actions, for bringing the
 “ said aukward country and people, by their
 “ abilities, into better civility, more orderly policy, and to social temper and civil life. Such
 “ as good bricklayers *, that we may cause to
 “ make

* In architecture the Russians were particularly backward. Vladimir, therefore, had already fetched architects from

“ make glorious fine churches and god’s houses.
 “ Farther, ingenious architects and work-people,
 “ who may build for us on the borders power-
 “ ful strong fast castles and impregnable bul-
 “ works. And that we may be able to furnish
 “ them with necessary ammunition and artillery,
 “ we have ordered to be procured cannon-
 “ founders, powder-makers, gunners, and arm-
 “ smiths *.” Besides the Germans, Ivan invited

from Greece for the purpose of erecting churches in Kief, and the succeeding princes on such occasions always employed foreign builders.

* The curious may here see the very words of his german letter: “ Wir bitten von der illustrirung, reformation
 “ und besserung wegen unsrer furstenthumb und landen,
 “ derer wir viel den barbaren abgenommen, und noch täglich
 “ abzugewinnen nicht unterlassen, umb etliche doctores
 “ beider rechten, und erfarnen hochverstendige menner in aller-
 “ lei weltliche sachen und hendeln, die gemelte unartige land
 “ und leut durch ihre geschicklichkeit in bessere civilität,
 “ ordentlichere polizei und burgerliches leben und wesen
 “ bringen. Dergleichen nach guten meurern herrliche schöne
 “ kirchen und gotteshauser machen zulassen. Ferner kun-
 “ streiche baumeister, und werkleute, die uns auf den gren-
 “ zen gewaltige starke feste schlösser und ungewinnliche
 “ vorwehr bawen sollten. Und das wir dieselben mit noth-
 “ durftiger munition und artalarei versehen, haben wirum
 “ buchfengießer, pulvermacher, buchsenmeister, waffen-
 “ schmiede — werbung zu thun befohlen.”

many Englishmen to come and settle in the empire.

Boris, in imitation of Ivan, likewise brought foreigners into the country, in order by their example and their endowments to kindle a spirit in the Russians, and to awaken their industry. Among others he encouraged physicians* and apothecaries to come out of Germany, and sent eighteen young Russians into foreign† countries to be educated, that on their return they might be the preceptors of their countrymen.

All this, however, operated on a few, and had but little influence on the general culture of the nation, which still remained several hundred years behind the rest of Europe; and the Russians in the sixteenth century were not by far so accomplished as the French, the English, and the Germans were in the thirteenth and fourteenth.

We will here give a few instances that may serve to shew the state of manners and culture among the Russians in the sixteenth century.

The houses were in general of timber, and as badly constructed as I have already described

* Among the presents which queen Elizabeth of England sent to czar Ivan, what pleased him most was an english physician.

† He sent several to Lubeck.

them; only in Mosco and other great towns were a few buildings of brick.

That contempt for the female sex, which is invariably a characteristic of a want of civilization, was conspicuous among the Russians. The women were kept in a perfect state of bondage, and it was thought much of, if a stranger were only permitted to see them. They did not even dare to go often to church, though church-going was always such a mighty business among these people; it was required that they should be constantly within doors, and should very seldom enjoy the fresh air.

The men of the middle ranks always repaired about noon to the market, where they transacted their business together, talked over public affairs, and went to the courts of judicature to hear the causes that were going forward. This was undoubtedly a practice productive of much good, as the inhabitants of the towns by this means improved their acquaintance, bartered their ideas and knowledge with one another, and the patriotic affections were nourished and invigorated.

In agreements and bargains the highest asseveration was: "If I keep not my word, may it
"turn to my infamy!" a custom extremely honourable to the Russians of those days, as they
held

held the disgrace of having forfeited their word to be the deepest degradation of the man.

Though the wife was so dependent on the husband, the child was still more on the father. He might even sell his children.

Servants and masters, as we have already seen, entered into a contract on the terms of their connection, and deposited it in court. If the master broke the contract, the servant might lodge his complaint.

The single combat still continued to be the last resource in deciding a cause, to which the judge consented when he knew not how else to determine. But duels out of court were strictly prohibited, and where one was killed, the slayer was punished like other murderers. The taking personal vengeance was forbidden by the laws under pain of rigorous punishment.

The nobles were universally soldiers, and were obliged to appear when summoned to war.

The boors, till the end of this century were still not bound to any particular master. The boor tilled the ground of a nobleman for a certain time, on stated conditions. Either he got a part of the harvest, and the produce of the cattle, a portion of wood, hay, &c. or he worked five days for the master, and on the sixth was at liberty to till a bit of ground ceded to him by his

his master. At the expiration of the term either party might give up the contract to the other, the boor remove to another master, and the master dismiss the boor that did not suit him.

Hence, however, inconveniencies arose, particularly on the establishment of a regular army, when the nobleman no longer went to battle with his people and maintained them, but a stated number of troops were raised, and a capitation tax imposed. The nobleman paid for his lands, and the boor for his house; but as the boor lived here perhaps to-day, and shortly after in another part of the empire, he might cause a diminution of the taxes to the government by changing his place of abode. This institution likewise excited great murmurs, because one master might easily find means of enticing away boors from another.

In order to remedy these disagreeable consequences, tzar Fedor, on the advice of Boris, in 1595, forbade the strolling about of the boors, and reiterated the interdiction in 1597. Boris, however, afterwards restored to the boors their former privilege, as the new law appeared to lead to vassalage. Schuiskoy resolved to take a middle path between the old regulation, when the boors were entirely free, and the more recent one, by which they were bound to a certain piece of land,

land, and to one master for ever. But in his turbulent reign nothing determinate was brought to effect; and a systematic vassalage of the peasantry now became gradually prevalent in Russia, at a time when this blot upon humanity was effaced in the other countries of Europe, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. That the vassalage, which was permitted towards the close of the sixteenth century, and at the opening of the seventeenth, had not only no beneficial effect on the culture of the people, but that it rather had a very prejudicial influence on it, is so manifest as to need no proof. The activity and industry which the introduction of so many foreigners into the country was intended to rouse, would be naturally checked and impeded to an extraordinary degree by the permitted subjugation of the boors into slavery, and the national spirit again be depressed.

Even the christianity introduced into Russia had very little effect, either in improving the national character, or on the propagation of science and literature.

The religion of the ancient Slavonians consisted in the worship of several deities, male and female, by sacrifices and offerings. Their number and the rites of adoration were probably different, according to the stems and races into which

which that people was divided. Their images were placed upon mountains and in forests. When Oleg concluded a peace with the Greeks, while the grecian emperor kissed the crucifix, he and his army laid their hands on their swords, and swore, by Perune the god of thunder, and Volos the god of cattle, to keep the peace inviolate, or expose themselves to the vengeance of these deities. At the treaty of peace between Igor and the Greeks, Igor and his army deposited their arms by the idol Perune that stood upon a mountain, in token that hostilities had ceased *.

Till

* We read in Procopius (1), however, that the Slavi acknowledged only one God, who created the world and darts the thunder; and that they sacrificed to him oxen and other victims. So far from making the life of man depend on fate, continues he, they acknowledge no such thing; but when any of them are in danger, either from the violence of some disease or by the fortune of arms, they promise to immolate a victim as soon as they shall have escaped, and this vow they never fail to fulfil; imagining that they hold their life by the death of the victim. They pay also honour to the rivers, to nymphs of the forests and other deities, offering them sacrifices from which they draw omens concerning futurity. They dwell in miserable huts, scattered apart from each other, and change them often. They fight on foot, holding little shields and small darts

(1) Bell. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 14.

Till the reign of Vladimir the Russians were idolaters ; and even that prince was, in the early years of his government, a zealous worshipper of his deities. In front of the tower of Kief he caused to be set up a magnificent statue of Perune, with a silver head and a golden beard, (for the beard was always of great consequence in Russia,) with some other idols. He erected likewise a Perune in Novgorod, and in several towns besides. He was a most assiduous frequenter of the sacrifices in honour of the gods, and strictly commanded his subjects to attend their worship. The heathenish priests obtained so much authority under him, that on one occasion they even gave out that the gods could only be appeased by the death of a young christian, whose father was in the service

in their hands. They wear no armour ; some even wear neither tunic nor cloak : but they put on trowsers when they march against the enemy. The Antes and Slavonians all speak the same language, and are of the same shape and aspect. They are large and robust ; the colour of their face is not very fair, nor that of their hair very blonde, and inclining not so much to the black as to the red. Their manner of living is as miserable as that of the Massagetes, always in dirt. They have nearly the same simplicity of mind as the Huns, whom they likewise resemble in the rest of their manners.

of Vladimir. (Otherwise the Slavonians were not addicted to human sacrifices.) The father of the youth selected for the sacrifice refusing to comply, and speaking scornfully of the deities, the incensed populace sacrificed him together with his son. Yet it was under this very prince, so bigoted to paganism, that christianity became the national worship in Russia. Some notion of what passed in the world for the religion of Christ, must have found its way into the country by means of the commerce subsisting between the Russians and the Greeks. The grand-princess Olga had gone to Constantinople, and returned baptized with the name of Helena. But that her example made no impression on her son Sviatoslaf has been already mentioned: and Adelbert, a monk, who was sent by the german emperor Otho I. to Russia, in order, if possible, to gain over the Russians to the western church, found among them so little disposition to hear of the christian doctrine, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life. The fame of Vladimir's great qualities and exploits had excited a particular attention among the neighbouring Greeks and Bulgarians. Both nations courted his friendship, and were in hopes that it would be more permanently secured if he could be brought to adopt the same religious profession

with them. The generality of the Bulgarians were mohammedans; and, accordingly, they vaunted to Vladimir the doctrines of their prophet. That Mohammed allowed a plurality of wives to his followers, was indeed highly agreeable to the inclinations of the russian monarch, as he was extravagantly addicted to the female sex. But the rite of circumcision, the interdiction of wine and pork, were equally unsuitable to his taste.

The Greeks too were not behind-hand in making attempts to draw Vladimir over to them, hoping in future to have more peaceable neighbours in the christian sovereigns of Russia than they had experienced the pagan rulers to be. The pontiff who at that time filled the chair of St. Peter was also not slack in his efforts to render the heathenish Russians, with their numerous swarms, subservient to the tiara of Rome. For the popes were ever carefully looking round them wherever there was any prince to be gained with his country and people for that kingdom of heaven which they had to bestow. Vladimir, who possessed a good natural understanding, and therefore might easily perceive that his idolatry was not likely to be so lucrative to him as the offers that were made him on various sides, at length resolved, on consulting
with

with his ministers, to send out a few intelligent persons to examine into the divine worship of the several sects of religion ; and then to determine which was the best. On the return of these messengers, they all with one consent declared in favour of the grecian worship, with the pomp and solemnity whereof at Constantinople they had been captivated to an uncommon degree. Vladimir was now baptized, adopted the name of Basilius, procured priests and monks, missals, legenda and agenda, church ordinances and other spiritual writings, with a multitude of holy bones and relics from Constantinople, and the greek system of christianity was established in Russia.

The deities which had been hitherto so devoutly adored, were now as suddenly dismissed from their offices. The image of Perune was bound to the tail of a horse, drawn down from the hill on which it stood, dragged into the Dniepr ; and the rest of the idols were in like manner destroyed. The Russians had been lately enjoined by Vladimir himself, under pain of heavy punishment, to a diligent attendance on the worship of the idols : he now published a decree, denouncing every one who would not cause himself to be baptized, to be the enemy of God, of Jesus Christ, and of the grand-prince. In virtue whereof upwards of a thousand Russians were

often in one day baptized only in the little river Potchnaya, which runs near Kief. It is true, that all these thousands commonly knew no more of christianity than that, for being a christian, a person must be christened. Likewise, in the rest of the empire, christenings went rapidly on; and the generality of the Russians were at least baptized, even though they had not learned much about the nature of christianity. In the meantime Vladimir, not only in Kief, but in other places, caused churches to be built, and endowed schools in which the youth should receive some christian knowledge, and be taught reading and writing; it was also at this time that the slavonian characters, invented by Cyril, were generally adopted in Russia.

Had now the acceptance of christianity by baptism disseminated among the Russians the practice of its precepts? It was too early to expect it. The generality of the new christians had no notion of the true essence and spirit of christianity; for even the greater part of the teachers placed all their reliance on oral confessions and ecclesiastical ceremonies; and the proselyte Russians were for a long time afterwards strongly attached, in their hearts, to their old pagan rites. After all; in no age or nation can initiatory forms, hearing masses, the keeping of
fasts,

fasts, and the mere repetition of set forms of prayer, frequently not understood, have any influence on the personal character.

Yaroslav, the son and successor of Vladimir, took likewise great pains about the newly planted faith, of which he resolved to accelerate the propagation by procuring the appointment of a metropolitan in Kief*. But whom did he cause to be invested with this supreme spiritual dignity in the empire? — A hermit, named Hilarion, who had dug himself a cave not far from Kief, for the purpose of living in entire sequestration from the world, and had thus obtained the reputation of a pre-eminent sanctity. By the elevation of this man, and by a number of grants and immunities to the monastic state, Yaroslav contributed greatly to increase in Russia that high opinion, habitual to the western church, and pernicious in many respects, of the merits of the monastic life, whereby God is thought to be better served than by a life spent in the active discharge of the reciprocal duties of society. Nay, the faith in the sanctity of the state of monks and nuns was so predominant, that in the sequel even the russian princes put on the cowl,

* This head of the russian clergy, the archbishop of the capital, under whose authority all the archbishops and bishops of the empire stood, was invested with his dignity by the patriarch of Constantinople.

at least when dying, and took upon them the tonsure, in order that, being habited as monks *, they might be sure of admission, without hesitation, into the kingdom of heaven.

In Russia too the clergy imposed fetters on mankind. They prescribed what every one was to believe. They here likewise artfully maintained that the authority conferred on them by God extended even beyond the limits of this present life. — If a metropolitan pronounced excommunication, then was every one damned to everlasting torments who ventured to do what was forbidden under penalty of the bann. In Russia too the clergy had the dexterity, by the same means that were practised in the western church, to acquire great riches, and especially by persuading wealthy sinners, previous to their death, to bestow a part of their possessions on the clergy, that by their intercession they might have an entrance into bliss, and be partakers of those unfading joys, to which of themselves they thought they had no pretensions. The very princes were obliged to watch the humour of the clergy, and to spare them on all occasions, as they were enabled, by their authority with the people, to bring about what they would.

* This practice was followed by other persons, of which instances were mentioned before, p. 246.

There were indeed at times among them persons who merited that reverence they acquired by their office. Thus a bishop once voluntarily offered to resign his station, if the peace of the church might be so obtained; and, one of his accusers being convicted of bearing false witness, he would not consent to his being deposed, but contented himself merely with exhorting him to amendment of life. — A bishop of Rostof had in the night-time removed the body of a prince out of the cathedral into the common burial place. Upon this the metropolitan deposed him from his office; and when, at the request of the prince, he restored him to the episcopate, he gave him this truly christian admonition: “ My son; be not so ready to censure and condemn as to forgive. Thou hast pronounced condemnation on a deceased fellow-creature; and while he lived thou stoodst in awe of him, didst accept presents from him, didst eat and drink with him, didst abide and rejoice with him. If his conversion was incomplete, yet thou didst not improve him; and now, wouldst thou convert him, after his decease, by rigorous censure and dire excommunication?” — Those persons of the clerical order who entertained these and similar sentiments, were highly deserving of the great respect in which they stood;

stood: they were worthy of being mediators between discordant princes, and between rulers and their people; for such the clergy sometimes were. Their example and their doctrine could not entirely remain without effect. But their numbers were few; and a multitude of others only paraded in that splendor of holiness which their office cast over them, while their lives had no tincture of sanctity or virtue. — The majority of the clergy read mass, and were otherwise totally immersed in sensuality and ignorance; and the laic thought it enough for being a christian to wear a crucifix about his neck, to be an assiduous frequenter of the ceremonies of the church, to fast, to confess, occasionally to attend the sacraments, and daily to read the prescribed formulary of prayers.

As to literature among the Russians; in that respect they were, and continued to be, far behind the rest of Europe: and among the russian monks there were not near so many men of letters as the cloisters of the western church could boast. So much the greater was the merit of one of these monks, named Nestor, of the petscherkian monastery at Kief; who, so early as the commencement of the twelfth century, wrote a history in the language of his country: wherein, after giving a brief account of the remotest ages, he records the transactions of the russian empire

empire from the year 858, by way of chronicle, marking under every year the most memorable events that happened in it. — These year-books, which, after Nestor's death, were continued by other monks, are the main sources of russian history. — The first printing press was set up by tzar Ivan in Mosco.

The roman pontiffs, who saw with an evil eye that the russian christians were not dependent on them, that the russian bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans, received their confirmation, not from the chair of St. Peter, but from the patriarch of Constantinople, made efforts at least, from time to time, to try if it were not possible to unite the russian with the latin church.

One of the princes of Kief, Daniel, who reigned in the middle of the thirteenth century, fought to obtain the title of king; and the pope, who conferred titles and territories according to his good pleasure, on Daniel's application to him, hesitated not long in granting him that style; in return for which boon Daniel promised to unite himself and his subjects with the church of Rome, if his holiness would condescend to allow them but a few variations in ecclesiastical rites. To this the pope consented, and conferred on him the regal title. Some
4 years

years afterwards, however, Daniel recalled his word; and the Russians continued to be greek christians, and acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople for their head.

Under the grand-prince Alexander, the pope renewed his efforts for gaining the Russians to him. A letter from him is still extant, in which he writes, that Alexander cannot do better than submit himself to God, whose place the pope occupies on earth, by acknowledging the romish church for his mother, not only in his own person, but that he invite his subjects to do so likewise. In requital of his submission the pope promises to esteem him the most of all the catholic princes, and to promote his glory. — But Alexander consulted with his clergy; and the pontifical legate received an answer extremely abrupt.

Another russian prince, on the papal ambassador's saying, "The pope has the power, by the sword of St. Peter, to make thee rich, puissant, and honoured," answered, at the same time drawing his sword, "Is Peter's sword like this? If he have such an one, then may he give away towns: but so long as I have this I will employ no other *."

Thus

* Ivan the Terrible gave the papal ambassador, who had been talking to him a great deal in favour of his submission

Thus these and other plans of the popes to lay their spiritual yoke on the neck of the Russians proved abortive. The pope was nearest to the execution of this project under the spurious Dmitri, who brought jesuits with him to Mosco, where they celebrated divine service publicly for the numerous Poles who had accompanied him to Russia. But this was no more than a slight beginning. Dmitri kept up an epistolary correspondence with the pope, which was found after his assassination; and whence it appeared that he had given an obligation under his hand to unite the russian church with the latin. The pope, in one of his letters, advised him to employ force for carrying to effect this union, if gentler means should fail.

These hopes, however, perished with Dmitri *; and the Russians, after having till the year 1589 received the confirmation of their metropolitan,

mission to the see of Rome, for answer: "I am Ivan, tzar of Russia and king of several kingdoms, which God has given me through my ancestors, — and I cannot comprehend how any mortal can assume the right to dispose of empires and kingdoms that belong to others."

* Yet some of the southern provinces of Russia, which had fallen to the Poles, were united with the romish church under Ivan II. They are called the united Greeks.

who

who first had his seat at Kief and then at Mosco, as the primate of all their churches and the head of all their bishops, from the patriarch of Constantinople, in this year obtained their own patriarch at Mosco * ; and were, and remain now, as independent of all foreign spiritual supremacy, as they had freed themselves in a political respect from the tartarian, and more recently from the swedish, sovereignty.

* Four russian archbishops, those of Novgorod, Kazan, Rostof, and Krutitzki, were on the other hand appointed metropolitans.

THE author of the following piece is the russian imperial privy-counsellor Alexèy Ivanovitch Muffin Puschkin *. It is intitled: *Istoritscheskoiye issledovaniye o mestopoloshenii drevniyago Rossiiskago Tmutarakanskago kniezhneniya, &c.* that is, "Historical inquiry into the situation of the ancient russian principality of Tmutarakan." Published by the sovereign command of her imperial majesty. St. Petersburg: printed at the education-corps for foreigners of the greek religion. 1794. pp. 74, in 4to. — As this work from the nature of its contents will not admit of abridgment, as the subject is of importance likewise to foreign historians, and as it may be agreeable to see a specimen of the matter and style of the ancient russian chronicles, as well as of the talents and pursuits of russian antiquaries, all apology seems unnecessary for inserting it here at length.

* President of the academy of arts, oberprocureur of the most holy synod, director of the education-corps for foreigners of the greek religion, knight of the order of St. Vladimir of the second class, of the order of Stanislaus, &c.

It is well known that Tmutarakan was one of the many russian principalities governed by distinct princes from the latter half of the tenth to the beginning of the twelfth century; at least the annalists cease to mention the russian dominion over it at the year 1127. Though the certainty of the existence of a state under the name of Tmutarakan was never liable to doubt, yet concerning the situation of it opinions were divided. It being not ascertained by any of the ancient annalists, the modern native historians placed it one while in the principalities of Ræzan *, at another at Astrakhan, then in Li-

* Ræzan, or Riazan, spelt and pronounced by the Russians as R-yazan, is one of those words that cannot be expressed in our characters. It was a famous old city in White Russia, the erection whereof is unknown. Murom and Voronezh were united with Riazan, and Tmutarakan was in process of time likewise added to it: hence arose the supposition that Tmutarakan must have stood in the vicinity of Riazan. In 1237 the Tartars made a conquest of this city, set it on fire, and the appellation Riazan was only preserved in Pereislavl Riazanskoi. Whence it appears that the founder of it denominated it after the malorussian city Pereiaslavl, for both Pereislavs, the Riazanskoi as well as the Salezkoi, were at first called Pereislavl, of which several examples are met with in the Steppennaia knigi. In succeeding times, however, the name was changed for more easy pronunciation, and as a distinction from the other.

thuania,

thuania, &c. In this work of M. Muffin Puffkin every historical uncertainty in this respect is entirely removed, by proving, beyond all contradiction, that the principality of Tmutarakan was on the island of Taman. The author draws his arguments not only from the comparison of passages carefully selected from the russian annals, but principally likewise from the inscription on a marble that was found a few years since on the island of Taman, among the rubbish of the ancient city Phanagoria, whereby his hypothesis, which, without this, would be highly probable, is brought to complete evidence.

The importance of this historical inquiry is not a little increased by the circumstance, that this region, which is universally known to have been governed in ancient times by russian princes, was again united with the russian empire in the reign of Catharine II. By the treaty of 1783, Russia obtained, together with the Krim and the eastern Nogay, likewise the northern part of the Kuban as far as the promontory of Caucasus, from which this tract of land, with the whole government to which it belongs, has obtained its present appellation; the island of Taman alone excepted, which, according to the present political division of the empire, forms one circle of the province of Taurida, the circle-

town whereof (the ancient Taman) is now named Phanagoria.

The geographical notes annexed to the treatise, as well as those in various parts of this volume, giving some account of antient tribes, towns, and districts mentioned in the text, have been collected with great care and critical accuracy, and, as original, will doubtless be welcome to every one desirous of information concerning russian history. The sources from which the author has drawn them are both manuscript accounts and historical descriptions of ancient times, to which foreign historiographers can seldom or never have access.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF

T M U T A R A K A N .

CONCERNING the situation and boundaries of that ancient part of the russian dominions the principality of Tmutarakan, our antiquaries have ever been of various opinions, and these have been mostly founded on conjectures. Mr. Tatishchev places Tmutarakan in the principality of Ræzan, on the superior part of the river Prona, where are still seen the ruins of an old stone-built town; the novgorodian history and the Stepennaiya kniga lay it in the district of Astrakhan; archbishop Theophanes Prokopovitch fixes it in the region of Novgorodok * in Lithuania; professor Bayer, at Temryuk †; kniez

* Fifteen versts from the left bank of the Nemen, on the borders of the voivodeship Vilna.

† Istorii Tatishchevvoi, kniga ii. stranitza 421. primetch. 227.

Schtscherebatof makes it to have been near Azof*; and, lastly, Boltin adheres to the opinion of Tatiscchtschef, by placing the situation of Tmutarakan in the district of Ræzan, on the spot where the city of Ræzan anciently stood†.

It would answer no purpose to enumerate the various arguments on which these antiquaries severally build their opinions; I shall therefore confine myself to the statement of those who have thrown the greatest light on the investigation of this subject. Tatiscchtschef, in proof of his assertion, produces the three following arguments‡: 1. The polish historian Strikofsky, in some passages of his history, mentions Tmutarakan, and in others puts instead of it Ræzan: 2. Sviatoslaf's two sons, Yaroslaf and Sviatoslaf, had Tmutarakan to their portion; but they style themselves princes of Ræzan: 3. A distinguished nobleman informed him, that on the upper part of the river Prona stood a town, the name whereof nobody knows, but in his opinion must have been Tmutarakan. "The

* *Istorii Tatiscchtschef*, *Istoriya*, kn. ii. str. 9.

† I agree with Tatiscchtschef, that we should look nowhere for Tmutarakan but "in the principality of Ræzan, and at no other spot than that where now old Ræzan lies." *Primetschanii na istoriya Leklerka*, part i. p. 305. See before, the note p. 385.

‡ *Istoriya yego*, kn. ii. str. 421. prim. 227.

“ first of these reasons,” says Mr. Boltin *,
 “ considering the numerous mistakes committed
 “ by Strikoffsky, rests on a very weak found-
 “ ation.” Nor is that of the second stronger,
 as many of the russian princes formerly ruled,
 not over one domain alone, but several, and en-
 titled themselves sometimes after one and some-
 times another. Instances of this we shall see
 hereafter. The third argument cannot with
 propriety be admitted as of any historical vali-
 dity. Mr. Tatishchev himself, in transferring
 the seats of the Kossoges † and Yasses ‡ in Mol-
 davia

* This opinion of Mr. Boltin is in a MS. of his in my possession, with a dictionary of the old russian towns and domains, at the word Tmutarakan.

† Kossoges were a people living in the region of the Palus Mæotis, and mostly on the eastern side of it. They were of the same pedigree with the Yasses and Kozares, a part of them had also seats on the Dniepr and on the Danube. Mstislaf, prince of Tmutarakan, having, in the year 1022, killed Rededa, prince of the Kossoges, in a duel, he took possession of the whole district, conformably to a treaty concluded between them. From that time forth the Kossoges were under the russian government; and the annals mention them for the last time at the incursion of the Tatars. *Tat. 1st. kn. ii. str. 101.*

‡ The Yasses and Yatzes, otherwise Yatzyges or Yatveges, were two distinct nations. The former dwelt in the region of the sea of Azof, and the latter had their seats
 along

davia to the Danube, is perplexed to account for the princes of Tmutarakan being able, at such a distance, namely, according to his opinion, from Ræzan, to fight with these nations*. Prince Schtscherbatof, in his history, asserts, that this principality lay in the region of Azof; and, in another writing†, instead of a corroboration, as might have been expected, he speaks thus: "This fact is so obscure in the russian history, that it will be fruitless to hope for a satisfactory statement of the situation of the principality of Tmutarakan." Mr. Boltin, in his remarks on le Clerc's history, transfers this city to Old-Ræzan; but, in his almost daily

along the Danube, and extended themselves as far as the Euxine, the Dniestr, and the Bogue; this appears from an ancient chart of Ptolemy, where we find, Iazyges metanastæ. The Greeks called this warlike and barbarous people Getes, and the Romans Dacians. The Yasses on the same chart are simply named Iazyges. Mr. Tatishchev, misled by the similarity of names, instead of Yasses, who dwelt on the sea of Azof, would put Yatzes, whose seats lay on a quite different side, on the Danube, whither it was absolutely impossible for the princes of Tmutarakan to come.

* *Istoriya yego*, vol. ii. p. 422. rem. 228.

† See *Pis'mo k priatelyu yego* (letter to his friend), p. 93.

intercourse with me, when we used frequently to dispute on this subject, on my communicating to him my reasons drawn from history, and which by no means coincided with his and Tatitschef's sentiments, he was at length obliged to retract his former assertion; and, in his answer to prince Schtscherbatof's letter, printed in 1789, he expressed himself in the following manner: "From a variety of circumstances, I
" have long since perceived that Tmutarakan
" cannot have been at Ræzan: but as I could
" not find out any place for it that satisfied me,
" I submitted to Tatitschef's opinion."

This matter is, therefore, involved in difficulties, according to these authors, because in the old russian annals nothing is clearly and accurately said of this principality.

But though the annals give no full and determinate information on the subject, we may yet meet with marks and traces by which the situation of the place may be infallibly ascertained.

These marks and traces I will endeavour to unfold in this short treatise, in which I have employed some leisure hours. It has long been finished; but I was unwilling to refute the generally received notion, that this principality lay in the territory of Ræzan, leaving it to time to discover

discover the futility of it. About five years ago, his eminence the novgorodian metropolitan Gabriel, whose particular kindness I have long had the happiness to enjoy, shewed me, in the *Life of St. NIKON*, in the first part of the *Petschoran Paterikon*, (and which is the more worthy of credit, as this part was written by Nestor * himself,) something concerning the situation of the principality of Tmutarakan, advising me to compare that passage with the facts related in our annals. I accordingly read with care several ancient authors, comparing and amplifying them by natural inferences. Whether or not I have been successful in my attempts, I leave to the judgment of others; and shall be satisfied if I have been able to afford only a slight elucidation of the subject, for the benefit of such as addict themselves to the study of our domestic history.

Ere we proceed to examine into the situation of this principality, it will be necessary to say something of the nations that dwelt in its vicinity. The annals are clear and express on this matter; saying, that “the possessions of the

* For an account of Nestor and his writings the reader is referred to “*Selections from Foreign Literary Journals*,” &c. vol. ii. p. 293.

“ Kozares, Koffoges, Yasses * and Obeses †,
 “ bordered on the principality of Tmutarakan.”

Nestor, under the year 6530 [1022], says: After the grand-prince Vladimir had made a partition among his sons, the principality of Tmutarakan fell to Mstislaf, who, during his reign, conquered and made tributary the countries of the Koffoges and Yasses § ; and in the following year, namely
 6531,

* The seats of the Yasses were in the region of the modern Azof: it is probable that they had even that city, which was antiently called Tanais, and imparted to it its present name. The sea of Azof, called by the antients *Palus Mæotis*, had perhaps its appellation from them. The custom of denominating towns, rivers, and even seas, after the nations that had the command of them, is still in practice: thus the city Murom got its name from the people Muroma, which they built; the Caspian was called Khvalinskian sea, from the Khvalisses who dwelt upon its coasts.

† Obeses, called by the byzantine writers Abhases and Abasges, now the Georgians.

§ “ Mstislaf of Tmutarakan went to war against the
 “ Koffoges. The koffogian prince Rededa being apprised
 “ of this, went out to meet him with a numerous host;
 “ and, while the two adversaries stood facing each other,
 “ the koffogian prince Rededa sent to Mstislaf to say:
 “ Why should we destroy our innocent soldiers? If thou
 “ art willing quickly to terminate the strife and enjoy per-
 “ petual peace, let us wrestle together: if thou conquer
 “ me, then shall my property, my wife and children, belong
 “ to

6531, he had even Kozares and Kossoges in his army *. In 6573 [1065], Rostislaf, prince

“ to thee ; but if I overpower thee, I will take whatever is
 “ thine. Mstislaf, who was not a rash and thoughtless
 “ man, demanded time for consideration till the next morn-
 “ ing, and then he would send him an answer. Knowing
 “ that Rededa was very strong, he trusted, however, to his
 “ own dexterity and strength, because he had never from
 “ his youth been conquered by any one in wrestling. Early
 “ in the morning he sent to tell Rededa that he might ap-
 “ pear at the place appointed, and thither he repaired him-
 “ self unarmed : whereupon they both struggled with all
 “ their might ; and, after they had wrestled for a long time,
 “ Mstislaf began to fail in strength ; for Rededa was of
 “ great stature, and powerful of arm. And Mstislaf said ;
 “ O holy mother of God ! help me ! for if I vanquish him,
 “ I will build a church in honour of thy name ! And having
 “ said this, he threw him on the ground, pulled out a knife,
 “ and stabbed Rededa. Mstislaf hereupon marched into
 “ his country, took possession of his whole property, to-
 “ gether with his wife and children, and laid a tribute on
 “ the Kossoges. And, on being returned to Tmutarakan,
 “ he laid the foundation of the church to the holy mother
 “ of God, and finished it as it is now standing in Tmuta-
 “ rakan.” *Tatishchev's istoriya*, kn. ii. str. 102.

* “ Mstislaf kept his army in readiness, in order
 “ to conduct it against Yaroslaf, united with the Kozares
 “ and Kossoges, and only waited for a proper time.”
Tat. iß. kn. ii. str. 102.

of Vladimir and Tscherven, routed prince Gleb who reigned in Tmutarakan, carried his conquests into the territories of the Yasses and Koffoges, and spread fear and consternation even among the Greeks *.

As these nations bordered on the principality of Tmutarakan, it will be necessary to specify with precision their several seats; which may easily be done, as the annals afford us a certain clue, by expressly saying: "The Kozares, Koffoges, Yasses and Obeses, were neighbouring nations, dwelling in the region of the sea of Azof, and spread themselves over the adjacent districts." The authenticity of this passage appears from the account of the first irruption of the Tartars into Russia in 6732† [1224], where

* "Rostislaf, Vladimir's son, prince of Vladimir and Tscherven, demanded tribute of the Koffoges and Yasses, and the people of other regions." *Tat. ist.* kn. ii. str. 118.

† "There came strange people, profligate Azarænes, whose race, origin, and faith, nobody knows. They call themselves Tatars, worship the sun, the moon, and fire We hear that, many years ago, they made themselves masters of various regions and realms in the east; and, after subjugating the Yasses, Obeses, and Koffoges, they fell upon the Polovtzes on the Don. When the Polovtzes dwelling on the other side of the Don, heard that the Tatars were come over the
" Volga,

where it is said: the Tartars, after having subjugated many nations to the east, passed the Volga, subdued the Yasses, Obeses, and Kossoges, and then proceeded by the Don against the Polovtzes; who, not being in a condition to make any effectual resistance, requested succours of the Russians, enforcing their petition by representing that the Tartars might be dangerous to them. The Russians complied, assembled a considerable number of troops, and marched to encounter the Tartars. The army of Smolensk and Kiev were sent up the Dniepr as far as the cataracts, while that of Halitsch and Volhynia on the

“ Volga, had there subdued every thing to their dominion,
 “ and were now approaching the Don the polov-
 “ tzian prince Kotiak took a journey to his son-in-law
 “ Mstislaf of Halitsch, carrying with him numerous pre-
 “ sents, consisting in horses, camels, and other matters, to
 “ implore his help against the Tatars, saying: ‘ This
 “ hitherto unknown people has fallen upon us, subdued our
 “ country, and if we do not check them with united forces,
 “ and you will not stand by us, they will likewise fall upon
 “ you, and commit the like devastations. We therefore
 “ recommend you to take this into due consideration, for
 “ the sake of rescuing yourselves, as well as us, from a final
 “ overthrow.’ They likewise sent to the grand-prince of
 “ Kiev, making him the same request.” *Tat. ist.* kn. iii.
 f. 433, 434.

Dniestr,

Dniestr, proceeded likewise to the Dniepr, and thence pursued their way to the cataracts, as the general rendezvous. Having completed their junction, they crossed the Dniepr, proceeding down the shore, and made a halt at the river Khortitza *: hence they pursued their march for the space of eight days over steppes, till at length they met the Tartars at the river Kalka, where the famous unfortunate battle was fought. The river Kalka, as appears from the *Bolschoi Tschertesch*, has its source not far from the sea of Azof, into which it flows †. Accordingly, the seats of the nations subdued by the Tartars, namely the Yasses, the Obeses, and Kossoges, can be no where else than in the region of the sea of Azof and Grufinia, or Georgia. This latter circumstance is still farther confirmed by the following matter of fact: Isiaslaf II. grand-prince of Kief, after the death of his wife in 6661 [1153], sent an embassy by water to the tzar of Obesia, who, in the books of pedigrees, justly bears the

* “ The river Sura, at a hundred versts below Omelnik, falls into the Dniepr—and forty versts below Sura the river Chortitza; and below this lay the island Chortitza.” *Bolschoi Tschertesch*, p. 160.

† “ From the little river Elkuvata, opposite to the sources of the rivulet Kalama. These rivulets all flow into the sea on the left side of this road.” *Tschertesch*, p. 40.

title of the Grusinian *, to ask his daughter for him. Having in autumn received intelligence from the inhabitants of the Krimea, which at that time bore the name of Korsun, a corruption of Kherfonesus, of the arrival of his intended bride, he dispatched his son Mstislaf to the Dniepr, who pursued his way to Obedia †, but returned without having met the princess. In the ensuing spring, however, having had information from the Korsunians that the tzarevna was arrived at the mouth of the Dniepr, Mstislaf set out to meet her with considerable presents, received her at the cataracts, and attended her to Kief ‡. But that the Kozares dwelt in the region of the sea of Azof, is plain from the account of the grecian historian Cedrinus, where he says, that the emperor Basilius, after his return from the expedition against the Bulgarians, in the year

* See the Aufsätze betreffend die russische geschichte, part v. p. 87.

† An appellation corrupted from Oleschia or Olesha, by which the Russians denoted the grecian city Elissa, which stood on the island St. Eleupheria, somewhat higher than the modern Kherfon. Elissa was the mart of all the commodities that were brought from above the Dniepr for the purpose of being transported to Greece, and thence to Russia. *Kritischeskaya primetshaniya Bolina na tom. ii. Istorii kniaz. Schtscherbatova*, f. xv. p. 37.

‡ *Tat. Ist. kn. iii. p. 76. 80.*

1016, sent out a fleet against the Kozares, who, after their subjugation by the grand-prince Sviatoslaf I. in 6473 [965], as will be presently seen, raised themselves again, and got possession of the greater part of the peninsula of the Crimea. This fleet, with the assistance of Sviatopolk, the son of Yaropolk I. made itself master of the regions, cut to pieces the army of the Kozares, and took their leader, Yurin Tfiul, prisoner in the fight. Hence it uncontrovertibly appears, that the Kozares dwelt on the borders of the sea; and this, from their relations with the neighbouring nations, could be no other than that of Azof.

Having thus ascertained the situation of these people from the intimations afforded by the annals, it naturally follows, that the principality of Tmutarakan must also have lain in the region of the sea of Azof, and in the vicinity of the grecian territory, not farther than a week's journey from Korsun, which in the Bolschoi Tschertesch is laid at Taurida*. This is discernible from the
circum-

* “ The tzarian palace at Baktischifaray, with the
“ kitchens and stables, is of stone; it stands at the foot of
“ a mountain, and two versts behind the tzar's court is the
“ church of the immaculate mother of God at Salantschuk.
“ Here the service is performed by grecian women; and on
VOL. I. D D “ the

circumstances attending the death of Rostislaf, the then sovereign of Tmutarakan, occasioned by the Greeks : for that prince having vanquished and rendered tributary the Kossoges, Yasses, and other circumjacent nations, the Greeks were alarmed at this accession of power, and therefore bribed a Greek, named Kotupan, to make away with that prince by artifice. The villain executed his purpose by poison, fled the same night from Tmutarakan to Korsun, and there prophesied that the prince would die within eight days. This accordingly happened ; and the Korsuners, being afraid that the Russians might take them to be accessory to the wicked deed, and revenge it on them, stoned Kotupan to death *.

If,

“ the river Alma is likewise a palace ; the lodges are of
 “ wood covered with plaister. It stands on the river’s
 “ bank in a vineyard, and from the tzar’s court to Korsun
 “ the distance is reckoned thirty versts. Going strait from
 “ Perekop, we find by the sea the stone-built city Kosses.”
Bolsch. Tsch. p. 31. — “ From the krimean frontiers,
 “ along the black sea, from Korsun across that sea to the
 “ country of the Turks, in a direct line to the south, it is
 “ 240 versts to the opposite shore.” *Bolsch. Tsch.* p. 120.

* “ As the Greeks were afraid of him [Rostislaf], they sent a Greek named Kotupan to Rostislaf, who took him into his confidence, and shewed him favour
 “ and

If, with Tatishchev, we place Tmutarakan at Ræzan, and the Yasses and Kossoges, subdued by the tmutarakanian princes Mstislaf and Rostislaf, in Moldavia at the Danube, we shall fall into inextricable difficulties. For, first, it was not possible for the princes of Ræzan to march with an army through such a number of principalities to the Danube, and particularly across the grand principality of Kief, which at that time was in its full strength and vigour, and ruled over all the separate principalities. This impossibility is confessed by Mr. Tatishchev himself, in his remarks on Nestor's history, who

“ and esteem on account of his understanding, for he knew
 “ nothing of his artful designs. This lasted even a good
 “ while. Once, as Rostislaf was diverting himself with his
 “ principal magnats, Kotupan came up to Rostislaf and
 “ said to him: Prince, I will drink to thy health; and
 “ Rostislaf gave him leave to do so. But he had concealed
 “ under a nail of his finger a deadly poison; and, after
 “ having drank the half, he shook the poison into the cup,
 “ filled it with liquor, handed it to the prince, and said
 “ to another, Rostislaf will die within eight days. After
 “ Rostislaf had drank out the cup, he felt not the deadly
 “ poison, and Kotupan travelled soon after to Korsun. On
 “ the eighth day Rostislaf died. As soon as the Korsunians
 “ heard that Rostislaf was poisoned by Kotupan, they beat
 “ him to death with stones, for fear of the vengeance of the
 “ Russians.” *Tat. ist. kn. ii. f. 118.*

says *, “ The Kossoges were a nation of Moldavia; though it is thought an exceeding great distance for Mstislaf to have marched from Tmutarakan to the other side of the Dniepr in Moldavia, or beyond Kief. But to the light troops of that time distance was nothing.” Secondly, at the peace concluded in 6534 [1026], between the grand-prince Yaroslaf and his brother Mstislaf at Gorodetz †, by which they divided the russian territory between them, making the Dniepr the line of separation, the western part fell to the grand-prince, and Mstislaf the eastern. Hence it is evident, that the seats of the Yasses and Kossoges, whom he had in his army in the war against Yaroslaf, must have lain westwards or eastwards. Thirdly, the Tartars, after they had subjugated several oriental nations, the Yasses, Obeses, and Kossoges, turned their arms against the Polovtzes at the Don; hence too it is plain, that we cannot place the seats of the Yasses and Kossoges on the Danube, which runs in a very different direction. Fourthly, if,

* His history, book ii. p. 422.

† “ Gorodetz, likewise called Gurief or Yurief, and sometimes Rædilof, in Little Russia, was situate at the mouth of the river Oster, to the left of the Desna.” *Lexicon Ross. istor. geogr. polit. & Geeschd. Tatisch.* part ii. p. 62.

with Mr. Boltin *, by the Korsun to which Kotupan fled, we understand, not that in Taurida, but another in the neighbourhood of Kief, on the river Rofs, we shall find it hard of belief that a traitor and murderer of a sovereign prince, in order to avoid the vengeance of the Russians for his villany, should have taken shelter in the interior of Russia at the russian Korsun, and not have fled to the Greeks who had bribed him to perpetrate the horrid deed.

From the Life of St. Nikon, which was composed by our historian Nestor at the time when the tmutarakanian principality still formed a part of the dominion of the russian princes, it appears that it lay upon an island. For it is there said, that, when the holy Nikon, the substitute of the venerable Theodosius, resolved to retire to the solitude, he set out from Kief with another monk, Bolgarin; and that when they came to the sea they parted. Bolgarin travelled to Constantinople, and Nikon to *the island Tmutarakan*.

* “ If it were difficult for Kotupan to reach Korsun
 “ from Ræzan before the eighth day, it would be scarcely
 “ possible for one who travels with the modern post from
 “ Azof; as here the question is not concerning the Korsun
 “ in Taurida, but that which is still subsisting on the river
 “ Rofs.” *Otvet Boltina na pismo kn. Schtscherbatova*, f. 73.
 i. e. *Answer of Boltin to the letter of prince Schtscherbatof*.

That the same St. Nikon, after Rostislaf's death, at the earnest intreaty of the inhabitants of that island, went to Sviatoslaf Yaroslavitch, the prince of Tchernigof, and moved him to send his son Gleb again as prince to Tmutarakan, who accordingly came with him to the island, and there began to reign as prince *.

* “ The brethren having increased in the cave, the holy
 “ Nikon formed the resolution of retiring into solitude, and
 “ to meditate alone upon himself. By the advice of the
 “ venerable Antonius, he departed with another monk
 “ (Bolgarin, of the holy mountain, from the monastery of
 “ St. Minus), and on their coming to the sea they parted.
 “ Bolgarin went to Constantinople, discovered an island in
 “ the midst of the sea, and took his station there. But the
 “ great Nikon travelled to the island Tmutarakan; and,
 “ having found a beautiful place near the city, he took up
 “ his abode there. On the death of the prince of this
 “ island, Rostislaf Vladimirovitch, the inhabitants of this
 “ region petitioned the venerable father Nikon to go to the
 “ prince of Tchernigof, Sviatoslaf Yaroslavitch, and beseech
 “ him to send his son Gleb, to elevate him to the tmutara-
 “ kanian throne. And after he was come to the city
 “ Tchernigof, and had well and happily executed his com-
 “ mission, he returned to Kief, and went to the igumen
 “ Theodosius at the monastery of Petschora. And the
 “ venerable Theodosius entreated that he would not leave
 “ him as long as he lived. This he promised him and said,
 “ ‘ If it be agreeable to God, I will return and preside over
 “ the monastery.’ When he was come with prince Gleb
 “ Sviatoslavitch to the island Tmutarakan, he, according to
 “ his promise, returned to the monastery.” *Paterikon*, list 72.

We

We must now inquire what island this was on which the principality of Tmutarakan is said to have been situate. For enabling us to ascertain it precisely, it will be necessary to discuss a little this narrative of Nestor concerning St. Nikon and Bolgarin. Nestor says, that they departed from Kief; and, on their coming to the sea, they separated; that one of them proceeded to Constantinople, and the other to *the island Tmutarakan*. Whence it is manifest, that the sea at which they separated, was the Black Sea; since between Kief and Constantinople there is no other; and, if we consult the maps, whether ancient or modern, we shall see that there is no island besides Taman so spacious as to admit the supposition that a principality was established on it: the principality of Tmutarakan must therefore have been on that island. Add to this, that the grecian emperor Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in his description of the boundaries of his empire on the side of the Euxine and the sea of Azof, mentions this island, and assigns to a fortress on it, Tamatarcha, the very same scite which anciently was that of the city Phanagoria, the capital of the empire of Bosphorus in Asia*.

It

* The emperor says, that the Bosphorus is 1800 paces in breadth, and that over against the Bosphorus stands a castle

It now remains for us to examine, whether it is not to be found in our annals, to whom this territory anciently belonged, how it came to be united to Russia, and was taken possession of by its princes.

As to the first particular, our annals evince that Tmutarakan formerly belonged to the Kozares, who not only inhabited that city, but also afterwards, when they were subject to the russian princes, exercised a certain authority there. Nestor writes, under the year 6587 [1079], that Oleg Sviatoslavitch was taken prisoner by the Kozares, and banished to Constantinople; that, at the expiration of three years, namely 6590 [1082], he returned thence to Tmutarakan, caused all the Kozares who were concerned in that transaction to be cut to pieces; that he made peace with Daniela prince of Turof, and Rostislaf prince of Peremuyschel, who in the

named Tamatarcha, as Anselm Banduri affirms from a manuscript. This island on which Tamatarcha stood, had on the side that is laved by the Bosphorus a large bay, running far into the land, and where the turkish charts place Taman or Tuman, the ancient Tamatarcha. At the same place the ancients placed Phanagoria. *Tat. ist. kn. i. f. 185. glav. 16.* From Constantine Porphyrogenneta, concerning Russia and the neighbouring nations.

mean-

meantime had made themselves masters of Tmutarakan, and obliged them to withdraw to their possessions beyond the Dniepr *.

This circumstance is again a refutation of their opinion who make this principality to have been in the territory of Ræzan; for how could the Kozares have sent prince Oleg Sviatoslavitch into exile so far as Constantinople? Besides, there is not to be found in the annals the slightest trace of their ever having inhabited Ræzan; their dwellings lay between the possessions of the Russians and the Greeks, and the latter were long in alliance with them. The building of their capital Sarkel in the year 889 by grecian architects sent them by the emperor Theophilus, may be brought in proof of this. Had the Kozares had no familiarity with the Greeks, in consequence of their former relations and alliances, how could they have exiled Oleg into their capital? This connection was necessary for the Greeks as a security to their

* “ Oleg Sviatoslavitch, on being liberated, returned from Constantinople to Tmutarakan, took David Igorevitch and Volodar Rostislavitch prisoners, and put them in custody; he caused the Kozares who advised the murder of his brother Roman, and seized upon him, to be punished with death; but he was reconciled with David and Volodar, and let them go to their possessions beyond the Dniepr.” *Tat. ist. kn. ii. f. 136.*

frontiers against the russian princes, of whose power they were afraid; as is seen plain enough by the purchased murder of prince Rostislaf.

At what time the tmutarakanian territory was united to Russia is a matter on which our historians are entirely silent. Notwithstanding this, however, I am of opinion that this union happened under the grand-prince Igor I. or at least under his son and successor Sviatoslaf. I am supported in this sentiment by these annals, which generally serve as a clue to something farther. Nestor, under the year 6473 [965], writes that after Sviatoslaf had vanquished the Kozares and captured Belaya Vesha, in their language Sarkel, on the Donetz *, he prosecuted his

* “ Belaya Vesha, otherwise Sarkel, a city on the Donetz, was built in the year 889 by the grecian architects Petron and Paphlagon, whom the emperor Theophilus sent thither at the request of the kagans of the Kozares, in the district where before the russian Belgorod had stood.” *Lex Ross. istor. geogr. polit: & greßb. Tatischtscheva*, part i. p. 129. Idem, *ist. kn. i. f.* 201. Another Belaya Vesha, inhabited by the Greeks and Kozares, as appears from the MS. dictionary of M. Boltin, was an old grecian town at the mouth of the Dniepr. A third Belaya Vesha in Russia stood above the river Oster; and, according to the historian, its first inhabitants emigrated in the year 1117, under the grand-prince Vladimir Monomachus, from the Belaya Vesha on the Dniepr, which afterwards, for the sake of distinction, in the year 1149, appears under the name of Old Belaya Vesha.

march, subdued the Yaffes and Koffoges, brought numbers of them prisoners to Kief, and demolished their towns *; hence too it arises with sufficient credibility, that they also conquered in this expedition Tmutarakan. In the account of Taurida by the byzantine historians it is expressly said, that Sviatoslaf subjected this region by his arms. These are their own words †:

“ If the Kozares were not totally subdued in
 “ Igor’s time by the Russians, yet his son and
 “ successor Sviatoslaf completely annihilated them
 “ in a hostile attack about the year 966, and
 “ took by storm their capital Sarkel, or Belaya
 “ Vefs, or Belgorod. The same Sviatoslaf made
 “ himself master of nine kozarian districts,
 “ situate about the Palus Mæotis, beyond the
 “ Don, and separated from the Syches by the
 “ river Kuma or Ukruch, and at the same time
 “ their city on the tamanian gulf, which was

* “ Sviatoslaf marched against the Kozares. The Kozares having intelligence of this went forth to meet him under the prince Kogan; and a dreadful fight ensued, in which Sviatoslaf, after an obstinate battle valiantly maintained on both sides, gained the victory, and took the city Belaya Vefha. This done, he marched against the Yaffes and Koffoges, overcame them, transported many of them to Kief, and destroyed their city.” *Tat. iſt. kn. ii. f. 45.*

† Page 71, 72.

“ anciently

“ anciently called Phanagoria, by the Greeks at
“ that time Tamatarcha, and by the Russians
“ Tmutarakan. Since that time the Kozares
“ are become of not much consequence, and
“ are subject and tributary to the Russians.”

Antiquaries are very much deceived if they think that the Russian arms had not, before the grand-prince Vladimir I. and under him, penetrated so far into the Grecian territory for being able to lay a foundation of a principality there. The free passage of the grand-prince Vladimir I. in the year 6496 [988] through Taurida with an army, and the unresisted capture of the city Korsun, could not have been accomplished, unless his predecessors and himself had been masters of the regions bordering on this peninsula. That the possessions of the Russians, even before Vladimir, really extended to Taurida, is apparent from the treaty concluded in the year 6453 [945] between the grand-prince Igor I. and the Grecian emperor Romanus, inserted in Nestor's chronicle. By this treaty the Greeks bound themselves to pay a tribute to the Russians on condition that they should not enter the territory of Korsun nor capture its towns. In the eleventh and twelfth articles of this treaty the possessions of the Russians as far as the mouth of the Dniepr, and even abutting on the sea, are more accurately

accurately defined ; it being said in the second article, “ But if the Russians find a grecian vessel cast ashore, they shall do it no injury.” And, article the twelfth : “ Should the Russians meet a Korsunian on the fishery at the mouth of the Dniepr, they shall commit no violence upon him.” These articles could not have been incorporated in the treaty, if prince Igor had not had the dominion over the mouth of the Dniepr, and even over the sea-shore.

Here we again meet with two difficulties which require elucidation. For, first, if Tmutarakan was united with Russia in the days of the grand-prince Igor I. or of his son and successor Sviatoslaf, how happens it that the annals make no mention of this principality till it devolved to prince Mstislaf the son of Vladimir ? Secondly, when was it ravished from the russian princes ? Concerning the former, it may be because Tmutarakan at first was not a distinct principality, but was under one sovereignty with the rest ; it was not till the dismemberment of the country by the grand-prince Vladimir that it formed a separate state, and was afterwards at various times, as may be seen by the annals, reckoned to belong one while to the principality of Tschernigof and Kief, at another to Murom, but frequently to that of Ræzan, because this latter,

latter, from its then great extent and power, as it comprised, on the accession of the Polovtzes, even the city of Voronezh with the surrounding district, had various means of affording assistance on every occasion to the principality of Tmutarakan, as a separate territory lying on the borders of the empire. Accordingly, the ræzanian princes had a just right to style themselves princes of Tmutarakan. This it was that misled Strikofsky, to whom, though a foreign and ignorant writer, Tatishchev in this case appeals, to put Tmutarakan instead of Ræzan. That the russian princes at the same time ruled over several detached territories, from a great number of instances I will only mention the following. Under the year 6531 [1023] we read: “ Mstislaf of Tmutarakan sent to petition his “ brother the grand-prince Yaroslaf to cede to “ him a part of the fraternal appanage which “ he governed; and Yaroslaf granted to him “ Murom: with which, however, Mstislaf was “ not content, but equipped an army against “ Yaroslaf; the Kozares and Kossoges combined with it, and only waited for a fit opportunity.” At the year 6604 [1096] it is said: “ After Oleg Sviatoslavitch, prince of Tschernigof, had subdued the prince of Murom, “ Isiaslaf Vladimirovitch, he rushed into the “ fisdalian

“ fufdalian dominions, took the city Sufdal,
“ plundered feveral towns, and transported the
“ principal inhabitants to his cities Tmutarakan
“ and Murom.” Laftly, under the year 6645
[1137]: “ Yury Vladimirovitch returned to
“ Sufdal and Roftof, his portion.” Confe-
quently Mftiflaf and Oleg might with equal
right be ftyled princes of Tmutarakan and
Murom, and Yury prince of Sufdal and Roftof,
as the ræzanian princes, might take their title
from Tmutarakan.

To remove the other difficulty it will be neceffary to recollect, that after the conquest of the principality of Tmutarakan by the grand-prince Sviatoflaf I. the Kozares being partly transported into other ruffian towns, and partly exterminated, the remainder, as was faid above, were no longer of much confequence. This principality, thus acquired, remained under the ruffian fupremacy as long as the fole dominion continued: but after the difmemberment into feparate territories, intestine quarrels among the princes, and their difobedience towards the grand-princes, brought on the diffolution of the body corporate, and gave occafion to the inroads of foreign nations. Then for the firft time appeared the Polovtzes; having probably been driven out of their former feats in Afia, and came
in

in the year 1055 to the rivers Kuban and Don, and precisely there where ninety-nine years before the Kozares had dwelt*. The russian princes, who at that time reigned over the dismembered countries, from their disagreements

* We must mind the difference between the Kozares and Polovtzes; the two nations had only this in common, that they inhabited the same tracts: but in regard to time there is a very great difference between them. The power of the Kozares terminated at the end of the tenth century; and the first incursion of the Polovtzes happened in the latter half of the eleventh century, exactly ninety-nine years after. This is proved by the annals at the year 6563 [1055] as follows: "The Polovtzes appeared for the first time; Bliufch came with them to Pereislavl; Vsevolod made peace with them, and they returned to their homes." In like manner, under the year 6569 [1061]: "The polovtzian prince Sokal came for the first time to over-run Russia with war; he fell upon the pereislavian territory, burning villages and making prisoners. When Vsevolod heard this, he collected an army of as many men as the suddenness of the emergency would allow him to lay hold of; and, without waiting for the assistance of his brethren, he went himself from Pereislavl to meet them. On the second of February they came to an engagement, and he was forced to yield to superior numbers. The Polovtzes, on meeting with no farther resistance, pressed on to the interior of the country, made a great number of prisoners; and this was the first calamity which these impious Polovtzes inflicted on them." *Tat. ist.* kn. ii. f. 115—117.

with

with one another, were not in a capacity to resist the expansion of their power. The Polovtzes, under the conduct of their prince Sokal, made their first attack on the pereislavian territory, laid all around them waste, burnt the villages; and, meeting with no opposition, penetrated into the heart of Russia, ravaging and plundering wherever they went. Of all the discourses that were made in the general assemblies at times convened for the purpose of allaying the internal animosities and feuds which greatly contributed to establish the power of their enemies, the speech of the grand-prince Sviatopolk II. is worthy of being preserved. At the assembly of the princes at Liubitch*, in the year 6605 [1097], he thus harangued them in his tent:

“ Beloved brethren and sons! Ye perceive and
 “ know of yourselves what great disturbance
 “ prevails among us in Russia; the grandsons
 “ and great-grandsons of Yaroslav are at vari-
 “ ance concerning a trifling tract of territory;

* Liubitch, a town on the Dniepr, in the principality of Tchernigof, at present a hamlet in that government. The grand-prince Sviatopolk I. marched to Liubitch against his brother Yaropolk; the former on this side, the latter on the farther side of the Dniepr. At Liubitch were held two assemblies of the princes for settling the controversies concerning parcels of territory, the former in 1097, and the other in the year 1135.

“ and, disregarding the decisions of the elders
“ of their stock, are endeavouring to do them-
“ selves right with arms in their hands, despoil-
“ ing and murdering one another. The Po-
“ lovtzes, our common adversary, behold these
“ confusions with joy; they attack us on all
“ sides, desolate our country, commit slaughter
“ among our people, carry others into cap-
“ tivity, whereby a great number of places are
“ already laid waste and changed into a desert.
“ You perceive, however, the diminution of
“ your revenues, and therefore strive to en-
“ large your possessions by iniquitous spoliations
“ of others. It is on this account that I have
“ called you together, that every one may have
“ full restitution of whatever he has been un-
“ justly despoiled, and that each may be con-
“ tent with his proper dominions; but against
“ our common enemy we must be so unanimous
“ that all shall act with combined efforts to
“ defend and protect the borders of every one
“ against the attacks of the foreigners, and not
“ suffer the least depredation to be committed.”

Upon this a new partition of their domains was made, and they mutually promised upon oath, that no one would take arms against another. This wise regulation undoubtedly gave the princes a great superiority over their enemy, as
experience

experience had formerly shewn. For, by the testimony of the annals of the year 6633 [1125], when the separate princes still lived in harmony, the Polovtzes ventured not to attack the frontiers of Russia or to approach the Donetz *: immediately, however, as this regulation was once infringed, the Polovtzes found a fresh opportunity to invade Russia ; and, in proportion as their force increased that of the princes of Tmutarakan declined. The annals mention this principality for the last time, and the territory belonging to it, in the year 6702 [1194]: from that time the name Tmutarakan is not even once to be found.

Now, if we combine these several circumstances, namely: 1. The subjection of the Kof-foges and Yasses by the prince of Tmutarakan, Mstislaf Vladimirovitch: 2. The consternation of the Greeks at the increasing power of Rostislaf of Volhynia, who reigned over Tmutarakan: 3. The eight-day flight of Kotupan, who poisoned

* “ The grand-prince Vladimir II. had reduced all the
 “ russian princes to such a degree of submission, that during
 “ the whole of his reign not one of them offered to make
 “ war upon another or to oppose his will; they all revered
 “ them as their father, and even the Polovtzes did not
 “ presume to invade the russian frontiers or to approach
 “ the Donetz.” *Tat. ist. kn. ii. f. 230.*

Rostislaf: 4. The banishment of Oleg Sviatoslavitch, prince of Tmutarakan, by the Kozares to Constantinople: 5. The incursion of the Tartars into the countries of the Polovtzes and Russians, after vanquishing the Yasses, Obeses, and Kossoges; it naturally results that it is an absolute impossibility for Tmutarakan to have lain in the principality of Ræzan. Whereas, by fixing the situation of it on the island Taman, all these facts are clear and consistent: 1. It was very possible for Mstislaf to subdue the Kossoges and the Yasses, people bordering on his principality, that is, in the region of the sea of Azof: 2. The extension of Rostislaf's extension of power in the districts contiguous to the possessions of the Greeks, was a reasonable ground for apprehension to that people: 3. Kotupan, the traitor and murderer of his prince, might in eight days time, and much sooner, have escaped from Taman to Korsun: 4. It was very advisable for the Kozares dwelling in Tmutarakan to send Oleg by water into exile at Constantinople, as it was divided from Taman only by the Euxine: 5. The Tartars pouring in from the east found no obstacle in falling upon the Polovtzes who dwelt on the shores of the Don, because, having already vanquished the Yasses, the Obeses, and Kossoges, they had no longer
any

any enemy behind from whom they might apprehend an attack : and, lastly, 6. This perfectly coincides with the passage in the Life of the venerable Nikon, where the situation of this principality is stated to have been on that island.

The question how, from the word Tamararcha, the name given by Constantine Porphyrogeneta to a fortress on the island of Taman, the russian Tmutarakan has arisen, may be answered in the following manner : it has ever been the custom with the Russians to substitute in their writings the great *yer* instead of the vowels, particularly in the first syllable ; and in confirmation of this assertion I appeal to all the ancient manuscripts without exception. Thus, for instance, they wrote instead of Vostotschnii, vstotschnii [easterly] ; instead of polkom, plkom [a regiment] ; consequently, instead of Tamararcha, Tmatarcha ; in copying the old chronicles they soon wrote Tomutorakan, Tmutorakan, or Torokan. Secondly, in former times it was customary to translate the names of foreign nations and towns, so that they should have some signification, generally for no reason at all ; to others they gave denominations of their own : thus they called the Patzinakians, Petshenegans ; Konstantinople, Tzaregrad ; Sarkel, Belaya Vesha ; whence the name of the present

city Belgrad. These appellatives are nowhere found in foreign writers, neither Petschenegans, nor Tzaregrad, nor Belaya Vesha. Thirdly, in pronouncing foreign words the common people usually change some letters or syllables; for example, instead of Stockholm, Styukolnoi; instead of Schlusselfburg, Schlyuschin; instead of Oranienbaum, Rambos. Fourthly, sometimes, on a succession of consonants, which render the pronunciation difficult, they throw away one or more; as for example: for Tschuvstva they say Tschustva (sentiment); for Tverd, Tver, and by an old corruption Tfer, though the real name of this city, which was built on the Kliasma in the year 6690 [1182] by Vsevolod III. grand-prince of Vladimir, is Tved, i. e. the fort*. Agreeably to this incongruity in denominating cities and places, Tamatarcha, or the russian Tomutarakan, might easily be changed into Tmutarakan; and the

* “ Vsevolod ordered Torjok to be set on fire, and sent Yaropolk with the principal inhabitants of that town in chains to Vladimir; while he himself returned. At the mouth of a river that falls into the Volga, he caused Tverd (a fort) to be built, giving strict orders that it should be made so strong that neither the inhabitants of Novgorod, nor those of Torjok, should go out on piratical parties on the Volga.” *Tat. iß. kn. iii. f. 246.*

rather,

rather, as this word has a meaning, though one that is not very elegant : it signifies ten thousand tarakans, or black beetles ; for ten thousand was, in the ancient mode of enumerating, denoted by Tmu *. This appears from a transaction recorded in our history under the year 6649 [1141], which I shall here translate from the original : “ When Isiaslaf of Vladimir learnt
 “ that Igor and his brethren had resolved to
 “ expel their paternal uncle Vetscheslaf from
 “ Pereiaslavl, he put himself without delay at
 “ the head of an army, and marched to his
 “ assistance, at the same time requesting his
 “ brother Rostoslaf of Smolensk to come and
 “ join him. Vsevolod, however, ere Isiaslaf
 “ arrived, had sent his general Lazar Zakofsky
 “ with the Petschenegans to succour prince
 “ Vetscheslaf, with whom he stoutly defended
 “ himself. In the meantime Isiaslaf and Rosti-

* This method of numbering is seen from an ancient book in my possession, entitled, Reckoning-wisdom, or more commonly the Black-book. It is termed the black book, as it is very rare to find a person that can make it out, consisting almost entirely of signs. It contains a number of arithmetical rules and calculations, with even the rule of False, without employing the arabic figures, as these were not yet known in Russia, or at least were not in use.

“ slaf Missislavitch drew near to the city Pereia-
“ slavl; and previous to their crossing the
“ Dniepr; sent to prince Igor, that, in pursuance
“ of the treaty to which he had sworn, they
“ would leave their father’s brother Vetscheslaf
“ in peace, and give him no cause to take the
“ part of their uncle on account of the intended
“ injury; for this was the dominion of his
“ father, and none belonging to him had ever
“ reigned over it. When Igor had heard the
“ words of the messenger, he asked him where
“ Isiaslaf was? Upon this the messenger per-
“ ceived that the approach of Isiaslaf was not
“ yet known to him, and answered: he remains
“ at Vyshgorod. But Igor despised the words
“ of the Vladimirovitches, and said with scorn:
“ ‘ Tell him to make no disturbance and sit
“ like a cricket behind the oven: order him,
“ however, to come hither; and if he do not
“ appear, I will myself go even to Vladimir
“ and fetch him.’ Isiaslaf, on receiving this in-
“ jurious and menacing answer, proceeded that
“ very night, without waiting for his brother,
“ across the Dniepr; and, at break of day at-
“ tacked Igor’s army. Though the Olgovitsches
“ had an army three times stronger, yet by
“ the bravery of Isiaslaf it suffered such a
“ slaughter, that they lost the principal people
“ and

“ and a considerable part of their army, and
 “ fled with shame and infamy to Tchernigof.
 “ Hence comes the proverb: A cricket con-
 “ quered Tmutarakan; because the princes of
 “ Tchernigof were formerly called princes of
 “ Tmutarakan, and Tmutarakan signifies 10,000
 “ tarakans *.”

Notwithstanding these irrefragable matters of fact by which the boundaries of this principality may be accurately ascertained, the subject would still in some measure have remained unsettled, if time, that discovers so many valuable monuments, had not given us a clue to clear up this obscurity. A stone of white marble being not long since found in the rubbish of the ancient Phanagoria on the isle of Taman †, leaves no longer

* Beetles. *Tat. iſt.* kn. ii. f. 297.

† I think it expedient here to relate the manner in which this stone was found. In the year 1793 major Yegorof on his arrival from Taurida informed me that the chev. Paul Vassillievitch Puſtoſchkin had lately discovered on the isle of Taman a piece of marble with a russian inscription, in which, among other things, the name of a russian prince appeared. But, as he could give neither the contents of the inscription, nor the name of the prince, I was curious to learn, whether some results might not be drawn from it of importance to russian history; and as, just at that time, professor Pallas was purposing to set out for those parts, I acquainted her imperial majesty with the discovery of this stone. He travelled therefore by supreme command to
 Taman,

longer any doubt, that the principality of Tmutarakan lay on that island. — The words engraven

Taman, for making farther investigations on the subject. In the meantime M. Yegorof wrote, at my request, to M. Pustofchkin, desiring him to transmit a drawing of it to me. M. Pustofchkin did so, inclosing it in a letter from Sevastopol, dated April 29, 1793, in which he mentions, among other things, that the stone was found in the city Phanagoria, while he headed the faithful tschernomorskian Kozaks [Kozaks of the Black sea] on the isle of Taman, having an inscription carved on one side, and filling rather less than half the length. That the other half was smooth, with a crack across. As it appeared to him remarkable, he sent it to the vice-admiral Mordvinof at Sevastopol. Upon this her majesty gave orders to major-general Shchegulin, governor of Taurida, that the stone should be carried back to the place where it was found, and be provided with a decent inclosure; but that an exact drawing of it should be sent to St. Petersburg. This being done, his excellency the governor-general of Taurida count Plato Alexandrovitch Zubof presented it to her imperial majesty on the 2d of December, with an account annexed, that the stone was found among the rubbish of an ancient town near the fortress of Taman, in a cavern to which it served as the fill of the door; that the upper side of it had places cut in it, which had all the appearance of having been made for the insertion of fastenings for fixing it in a wall of some building; that this upper side was rough, but the lower side, with the ends, were smooth; and that, as it could not remain in the place where it was discovered, a more proper spot had been sought for near it, and round it had been built an inclosure with a covering.

on it are of this import: "In the year 6576
 " [1068] the 6th indict-year prince Gleb mea-
 " sured the sea over the ice from Tmutarakan
 " to Krtscchef at 8054 fathoms*." This in-
 scription determines the boundaries of this
 principality with the utmost precision, and
 entirely agrees with the annals: for from the
 annals it is manifest, first, that at that time it was
 the 6th indict year, as may be more clearly seen
 from the instances adduced in the note below †.

Secondly,

* By the length of time a few of the letters have been injured; they are however to be decyphered. In the statement of the fathoms, we find $\Delta\text{H}\tilde{\Delta}$, but this has no meaning; for $\tilde{\Delta}$ denotes 30 and H 50. Now, as 30 and 50 cannot stand in a series, we must therefore add to the first letter a stroke, which has certainly been obliterated, and then we have $\Delta\text{H}\tilde{\Delta}$, 8054: which measure exactly tallies with that in the byzantine writers, who state the breadth of the straits at this place at 70 stadia. Computing 8 of these to an italian mile, and 60 italian miles to a degree, or $104\frac{1}{2}$ russian versts; then 70 stadia make 7619 russian fathoms, or about 16 versts; and this coincides with the admeasurement of the width of the channel here.

† The method of computing by indicts is derived from the Romans. They denoted thereby a period of 15 years, beginning the first indict from the first year of the creation of the world. Generally 15 indicts were reckoned, and each year corresponded to a particular number. At the expiration of 15 years, the indict 1 began, and so proceeded. This computation of time is very common in history, particularly

Secondly, that at that time Gleb, the son of Sviatoslaf, was reigning at Tmutarakan; for though in the year 6572 [1064] he was for the second time driven out of Tmutarak by Rostislaf, prince of Vladimir and Tscherven, yet he came back after the death of that prince, which happened the 3d of February 6573 [1065], from Tchernigof, with the venerable Nikon, and ascended the tmutarakan throne. Thirdly, the way of measuring by fathoms, was at that time not only understood, but was in general practice.

cularly in the grecian history; and if a person does not rightly understand it, he is liable to fall into gross mistakes. In order to find the indict for any year since the creation of the world, we have only to divide the year by 15, and the remainder shews the number of the indict. Thus, for instance, the date on the stone is 6576, and the 6th indict: divide therefore 6576 by 15, then the quotient will be 438, and the remainder 6; that is, from the creation of the world down to that time 438 complete indicts have elapsed, and the 6th is still current. If we would know the indict for any year from the birth of Christ, before we divide we must add the number 3 to that year, because the birth of Christ happened in the third indict. For example: we would find the indict for the year 1794, we must first add the number 3, then divide the sum by 15, and the quotient, being 119, will shew that 119 indicts have elapsed since the birth of Christ, and the remainder 12 declares that the 12th year is going on.

Seventeen years before, namely in 6559 [1051], at the beginning of the famous caverns of Kief, Nestor writes as follows: "Harion, who fasted much, dug in the mountain a cavern of two fathoms, to screen him, and prayed there."* Fourthly, the letters carved on this stone are perfectly similar to those in the old manuscript books, which are only to be found in the collections of antiquaries, or in the imperial libraries. Fifthly, the very mode of writing is an internal evidence; since, in conformity with the abovementioned ancient custom, there stands Tmutarakan, whereas instead of Kertsch, from the old Kortschef, we find Krtschef.

If it may be permitted to subjoin private judgment and conjectures to historical accounts, it seems to me that this inscription was put up in memory of an intense cold, rarely happening in these parts, whereby the tauridan straits, by the ancients called the Bosphorus, notwithstanding its violent current, was covered with ice. Gleb, prince of Tmutarakan, resolved to seize this opportunity for causing the breadth of these straits to be measured, on the ice, from one shore to the other; that is, from Tmutarakan to the tauridan city Kertsch, which stood directly opposite; a distance which he could not so accurately ascertain in any other way. I was led to this sur-

* Tat. ist. kn. ii. f. 110.

mise by the byzantine historians, who take notice of such instances of the freezing of the Euxine, as phænomena quite unusual in those regions*.

To conclude: we have great reason to be thankful to that Providence which rules the fate of empires, that this principality, which so many ages ago was a fief of Russia, and, during the domestic dissentions of the russian princes, passed into foreign hands, was again incorporated in the russian body politic during the prosperous and happy reign of Catharine II. more by the prudence of her counsels than by the force of her arms. The stone itself, that inestimable monument of antiquity, which by her command is preserved on the very spot, was likewise discovered under her administration.

Thus it sometimes happens that an accident completely elucidates what the laborious investigation of ages would never have reduced to certainty.

* In the reign of the emperor Constantine Kopronimus, in the year 673 from the birth of Christ, there happened such a frost, that, at the beginning of October, the Pontus Euxinus was so hard frozen, that people could go from the Khrim, which was then called Khosaria, in the heaviest carriages, to Thrace as far as Mesembria; and from Constantinople they went on the ice to Chrysopolis [Scutari]. Vid. *Gedrenus*, tom. ii. p. 464. *Zonaras*, tom. ii. p. 109, 110. *History of the Oriental Empire*, tom. xiii. lib. lxiv. p. 473.

SUCCESSION of the russian princes who reigned at Tmutarakan till prince Gleb Sviatoslavitch, who caused the stone to be placed on the isle of Taman.

The race of Rurik.

SVIATOSLAF I. IGORIEVITCH, first prince of Tmutarakan, grand prince of all Russia, was born in the year 920. In 965 he overcame the Kozares, and took possession of their capital Belaya Vefha (in their language Sarkel); in the year 972 he was drowned in the Dniepr during the battle, in the 52d year of his age, and the 27th of his reign. He was succeeded by

VLADIMIR I. SVIATOSLAVITCH, the second prince, born in the year 947; acceded to the grand princely throne in 980; was baptized at Korsun in 988; died the 15th of July 1015 at Pereislavl, and was interred in the church at Kief. He lived 68 and reigned 35 years. On the partition of the countries in 988, the principality of Tmutarakan fell to his seventh son,

MSTISLAF VLADIMIROVITCH, being the third prince. In the year 1022 he slew the kossogian prince

prince Rededa in a duel, took possession of his whole country, and imposed a tribute on the Kossoges. He died in 1034 as he was hunting, in the 46th year of his reign, and was buried in the church of our Saviour at Tchernigof. After Mstislaf's death the sole dominion of all Russia was introduced, and therefore the principality of Tmutarakan devolved on

YAROSLAF I. VLADIMIROVITCH, the fourth prince; born in 973, began his reign in 1019, died at Kief the 17th of February 1054, and his remains were deposited in the church of St. Sophia. He reigned 35 years. According to his testament, he was succeeded in Tchernigof and Tmutarakan by his son,

SVIATOSLAF II. YAROSLAVITCH, the fifth prince, born in the year 1027, mounted the throne in 1054, and died at Kief in 1076. He was interred at Tchernigof in the church dedicated to the all-gracious Saviour. He had completed his 49th year, and governed the grand principality three years. While he was yet living the throne of Tmutarakan was filled by his son,

GLEB SVIATOSLAVITCH, the sixth prince. He was expelled by Rostislaf Vladimirovitch, prince of Vladimir and Volhynia, who came in 1064 to Tmutarakan; but Sviatoslaf put him again in possession of that principality. Rostislaf, however,

however, renewed his attack on Tmutarakan, drove him out for the second time, subdued many of the circumjacent districts, and laid a tribute on the Kossoges and the Yasses. In the following year, Feb. 3. 1065, he died of poison, and was buried in the church of the holy mother of God, which was founded by Mstislaf Vladimirovitch. Upon this, the principality of Tmutarakan received, for the second time, as its ruler,

GLEB SVIATOSLAVITCH. In the year 1086 he caused the Bosphorus, now the straits of Taurida, by which the sea of Azof is connected with the Euxine, to be measured from Tmutarakan to the opposite city of Kertsch, as a memorial of which he erected a tablet of marble. This prince was slain in battle at Savolotscha, in the novgorodian territory, in 1096, and his remains were deposited in the church of the Redeemer at Tchernigof. He died childless.

BEFORE we enter on the reign of Peter the Great, it will be proper to give some brief account of that great city which he founded, and of its progressive aggrandizement under his successors; as the insertion of it in the history would have occasioned an unwelcome interruption to the reader, and as it could not be conveniently divided into notes.

St. Petersburg is the capital of the government of that name, and is the imperial residence. It has a harbour, a fortress, an admiralty, and a dock; is situate on both sides of the river Neva, which falls into the gulf of Finland, in $59^{\circ} 56' 23''$ north latitude, and $47^{\circ} 59' 30''$ longitude, and is distant from Mosco 728 versts.

Peter the Great, having in 1702 conquered from the Swedes the fort of Nyenshantz at the confluence of the Ohta with the Neva, and in 1703 having taken the fort of Nöteborg, now called Schlusselfburg, situate on the Ladoga, just where the Neva flows out of that lake, thought himself able to maintain himself in the possession of Ingria and the rest of his newly-acquired dominions.

minions. Accordingly, he set about constructing a fortress on the Vassillie ostrof; and, on the 16th of May of the same year 1703, laid the first stone of the present citadel on a little island in the river Neva: it was finished of brick by the empress Anna in 1733, and in 1780 was faced with granite by Catharine the second. In the year 1705 the emperor built the admiralty of timber on the left bank of the Neva, to which he afterwards made additional buildings of brick; and the whole, as it now stands, was completed by the empress Anna in 1734. As this part was somewhat less marshy than the island, many people voluntarily chose to build here; and thus arose the present three admiralty quarters which form the best part of the town. The emperor had at first designed his city to be on the Peter's isle; but he afterwards changed his mind in favour of the Vassillie ostrof; so named from Vassillie Kartshmin, captain of the artillery, who lived in the fort on this island, then called Givi Saâri, and to whom all orders from the emperor were sent with this superscription: "To Vassillie on the ostrof," or island. This island, lying between the two principal arms of the Neva, Peter determined to render as like Amsterdam as possible, by intersecting it with twelve canals, two of which were
to

to be navigable for ships of burden; and obliging his nobles according to their incomes to build houses on the side of them, for the accommodation of merchants, to whom they were to be let. This plan was carried on with vigour till the emperor saw 109 houses of stone, and 354 of timber, erected in his own lifetime. It was afterwards however dropped, and every one built here or elsewhere as he pleased; and such of the canals as were dug are now filled up. The tzaritzza Prascovia Feodorovna and prince Mentchikof here built palaces, the former of which is now the academy of sciences, and the latter the cadet-corps. In 1722 the emperor built the colleges here, and the exchange.

In 1711 the Vyborg-side was begun to be built upon, but never has been prosecuted to any great extent. In 1726 the spacious hospital for seamen was erected here of brick, as likewise that for soldiers; and in 1733 the church of Sampson.

In the Stikhof quarter the foundery was built of timber in 1711; the present edifice of brick was constructed by the empress Anna in 1733.

In the quarters of the admiralty Peter built himself a winter palace of brick, in the street now called the Million; in which he resided, as did also the empress Catharine the first. In

1713 the Perspective-street was begun; the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski was at first built of wood, and then of brick in 1715. In 1716 the Galerenhof, and in 1718 the Million, were begun. In the same year the emperor instituted a police for his new city. In 1719 the great shops were erected in the Perspective, and in 1721 the imperial stables. In the year 1725 the residence lost its founder.

During the reign of the empress Anna, the german Peter-church was built, in 1730. In 1730 that sovereign instituted the land-cadet-corps; and in 1734 erected the church to the mother of God of Kazan. The streets of the Morskoi were built of brick. In 1737 the residence had ten greek and three foreign churches.

The empress Elizabeth built in 1743 the church of St. Nicholas. In 1746, near the palace she had inhabited while princess, she caused the Voskresenskoi nunnery to be erected of brick; and in 1748 the annitskie palace. In 1754 that empress began the present massy winter palace, in which count Rastrelli was employed as architect; it was not completed till 1762, consequently after her decease.

Since Catharine the second assumed the reins of empire, the completion of the residence has

been prosecuted with unremitted ardour, partly out of the imperial coffers, and partly by the undertakings of rich inhabitants, of which I shall here only mention the chief.

In 1761 the marble church of St. Isaak was begun, though, from the prodigious solidity of the fabric and other causes, it is still unfinished. The marble palace, begun in 1764, was completed in 1784. In 1764 that monarch began to embank the Neva with hewn granite, which was completed on the south side, so as to form incontestably the finest street in Europe, in 1787. The Katarina canal was cut through the town, and was lined on both sides with granite. The roads to the imperial country palaces, begun in 1768, were finished in 1787. In 1770 prince Orlof erected the arsenal. In this year the city had thirty russian churches, two monasteries with nine churches, and also seven foreign churches.

In 1778 appeared the row of granite columns, with the balustrade of exquisite workmanship, before the summer-gardens. In 1780 the deepening of the Fontanka, and its facing with blocks of granite, was begun; and in 1789 that great work was finished. In 1783 appeared the statue of Peter the Great, unrivalled in the world. In 1785 the lombard-bank; in 1788 the assignations-bank, and the sumptuous mansion of the

academy of arts; in 1790 the new buildings of the academy of sciences, and the magnificent exchange, were finished; with many others.

St. Petersburg, as the residence, while the court is there, has no general governor; but during its absence that dignity is conferred by the monarch on one of the principal nobles.

Since the establishment of the new constitution, in 1780, the municipal administration resembles that of most other capitals, except in some few particulars. Here is a governor, a police under its *maitre de police*, a magistracy with its elders, burgomasters, and counsellors, a superior tribunal, a college of general provision, and a court of conscience.

The administration of the police, which dates its institution from Peter the Great, has received much improvement from the late empress. It has now an oberpolitzei-master and a politzei-master, two presidents, or directors, an architect, two surgeons, ten surveyors for the ten departments of the town, ten fire-masters, forty-two inspectors of the quarters, and forty-two quarter-lieutenants, twenty town-serjeants, 504 night-watchmen; also a militia of ten lieutenants, ten provost-marshals, thirty corporals, ten drummers, and 280 soldiers, whose yearly pay, without accoutrements, horses, &c. and
without

without reckoning the wages of the night-watch, amounts to 48,755 rubles. Besides these, in time of peace here is always a regiment of hussars, or a polk of Kozaks, in the service of the politzey, for patrols, &c. To which must be added 1622 persons belonging to the establishments in regard to fires. And here it should be observed, that in all the departments of the police no city is better governed.

The enumeration of some particulars worthy of observation in this city will suffice for our present purpose. The large houses and spacious streets are the first objects that agreeably meet the eye of every traveller, as contributing at once both to the health and the pleasure of the inhabitants.

The summer-gardens, delightfully situated on the bank of the Neva and the Fontanka, are about 250 fathom in length, and near 100 in breadth. They were laid out by Peter the Great, in 1711, in the true dutch taste, with strait walks and allées intersecting each other at right angles, but have been greatly improved and modernized by the late empress. They seem to have their name from their cool and shady avenues, or perhaps only in contradistinction to the winter-gardens in and upon the palaces. Here are a great number of statues
in

in marble and alabaster. Peter the Great, Anna, and Elizabeth, caused them at several times to be brought from Italy, and some of them are master-pieces: they are placed on marble pedestals three feet high, and are about the natural size. The busts represent famous men, emperors, philosophers, and others; and the statues are taken from the mythology of the Greeks and Romans. But the two that most attract the admiration of the connoisseur are Faith and Religion; both by the chissel of Conradini. Over the face of each of these figures is a veil of exquisite workmanship. That of Faith is so disposed in folds as just to discover the features beneath it; but that of religion is so delicate, that the visage is perfectly discernible through it. A Bacchus and a Mercury, a sleeping Venus, enlightened by Endymion, a sleeping nun, and a few others, are excellent. Some of them are much damaged. This garden is constantly open to people of good appearance. On Sundays and holidays the walks swarm with company of all classes, who are sometimes entertained by the imperial band of forest-musicians.

The winter-palace of the sovereign is pleasantly situated on the right-hand bank of the Neva, on the spot where formerly stood the house of count Apraxin, which he made a present

sent of to the crown, and was used as a palace. But, in 1754, the empress Elizabeth caused it to be pulled down, and the present prodigious structure to be raised in its stead; which was not finished till 1762, the year in which that empress died. It forms a long quadrangle; each of its fronts, to the Neva and to the town, being 450 english feet in length, and the sides of its extremities 350 feet. It has a very lofty basement, on it the principal story, and above that an entresol. The whole height amounts to seventy feet. The roof is low; but on the part which contains the chapel rises a cupola with a cross, and on the parapet are statues and other ornaments. The main front towards the city is provided with a magnificent portal, and two large entrances under spacious balconies, one of which is converted into a room, from whence on great holidays the imperial family shew themselves to the populace. The lower story is decorated on all sides with columns of the ionic order, and the upper with corinthian. The front towards the Neva has but one entrance, in the middle between the two extremities which here project forward, like short wings. The end towards the admiralty was inhabited by the grand-duke Paul Petrovitch. The basement story is vaulted with two large rows of pillars
on

on each side, having small apartments for the court-attendants, guards, kitchens, &c. These vaulted avenues, which resemble the aisles of a cathedral, are so dark in some places, as to require lamps during the day, and consequently are of a gloomy aspect. The entresol is filled with people belonging to the court, either of the empress or of the grand-duke.

The inside of the palace contains several particulars worthy of observation: the large magnificent marble flight of stairs, on the Neva side, which is only ascended by ambassadors and grandees on their first solemn audience: the chapel, with its sumptuous paintings and sacred vestments. The church-service here is amazingly grand, and the solemnity of it much heightened by the exquisite singers that compose the choir. The masquerade rooms are remarkably brilliant, especially when lighted up on such occasions. The chamber of audience, with the throne of antique splendour. The cabinet containing the insignia of the empire, is the most valuable collection of jewels to be seen in Europe. These insignia are placed on a table in the midst of the room, under a large glass-bell, which admits of their being thoroughly viewed on all sides. The great crown of gold is faced with red velvet, almost entirely covered with various kinds of
precious

precious stones, some of them of great magnitude; particularly at top is an uncommonly large ruby. The little crown which is seen on the head of the monarch on the great court-festivals, is about five inches in diameter, and is esteemed of great value, from the number of large brilliants with which it is beset. The knob of the sceptre is the famous diamond which her late majesty purchased of Safratz the Greek, in 1774, for 450,000 rubles, and a life-annuity of 100,000 rubles. It weighs 194 carats: but having been cut in India, where it served for the eye of an idol, it is not so perfectly shaped as it might have been done by an european workman. The mound and its golden cross are covered to more than half their surface with precious stones of various hues. Round the walls of this apartment are glass-cases, like those in toy-shops, full of diamond ornaments, stars of the several orders of knighthood, watches, and watch-chains, rings, epaulets, sword-hilts, snuff-boxes, etuis, &c. from whence the sovereign selects the presents she is pleased to make.

The apartments of the empress, the grand-duke, and the imperial family, are fitted up with the utmost magnificence and taste. The rest of the rooms are partly put to no use, though many
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of them are highly decorated in the old style of grandeur.

The hermitage bears that name, as devoted to the private recreations of the monarch, and is also called the gallery, on account of its forming part of the suite of the imperial collection of pictures. The hermitage is erected at the eastern extremity of the palace, in the same line with it on the bank of the Neva, reaching to the canal which connects that river with the Moika. This spacious building is joined to the palace by a covered way, leading from the middle story, so that her majesty could commodiously walk from her apartments into the hermitage, which, together with the whole length of the palace, is nearly half an english mile. The eastern part of this great square, towards the Million, was inhabited by the late prince Potemkin.

Besides these united palaces and their several appurtenances, there is still beyond the hermitage, but contiguous to it, the old imperial winter-palace, built by Peter the Great, and in which he and his Catharine resided to the end of their days. It has long been converted into a private theatre for operas, and apartments for the italian performers, singers, dancers, and musicians, with their wardrobes and other conveniencies. At the end of the hermitage, the
empress

emprefs has lately built a Raphael's gallery, with copies of all the paintings, of the same dimensions and style with that in Italy.

The picture-gallery employs a considerable suite of rooms. By a catalogue taken in 1774, the paintings then amounted to 2080, having among them originals by the pencils of Raphael, Rubens, Vandyk, Rembrandt, le Brun, Holbein, Corregio, Carucci, Jordano, Pefne, Dietrick, and other celebrated painters of the dutch, italian, and german schools. In this great collection the Houghton gallery makes, as to number, but an inconsiderable figure. By the frequent purchases made by the late emprefs, the pictures are now so numerous, that they cannot all be hung up. They may at present safely be computed at upwards of 4000; besides the miniatures and enamels, which are at least 200 in number.

The sovereign's private library contains about 2000 volumes; and, in other apartments are the libraries of Voltaire and Diderot, which together may amount to 40,000 volumes. The collection of copperplate engravings may be stated at 20,000.

The cabinet of medals and coins, contains in both kinds about 16,000. The collection of gems, in which is comprized that of the duke of Orleans

Orleans and those of Natter, including such as are of Tassie's manufacture, and some compositions from Italy, exceeds 10,000, not to mention great numbers of impressions in gypsum.

A choice collection of natural history, from all the three kingdoms of nature, especially from the mineral, which the empress bought in 1786, of that famous naturalist, professor Pallas, was not yet entirely arranged in 1791. Besides this, in an apartment adjoining, is a great collection of natural curiosities.

The chamber of confidence is a real solitude. The company seat themselves at a confidential table, which they find ready prepared, without servants, and therefore eat and converse without restraint. After the first course, at a signal given, the table sinks through the floor, which closes of itself. At another signal the table rises with the second course. Each particular plate likewise descends through the table, which rises again with whatever has been ordered by a written paper upon it. The mechanism of this contrivance is extremely simple; lines running over pulleys; and a wheel winding it up and down.

Another room contains a lathe for turning, with several pieces of turnery by Peter the Great, and others by the hand of Catharine II.

In

In another apartment are models of various buildings and machines, and numberless ingenious contrivances of art: the minster at Strasburg in mother of pearl; a tower, with a winding staircase in ivory, and a multitude of others.

The hortus pensilis, on a level with the grand apartments, fix fathoms above the ground. In this are gravel-walks, grass-plots, parterres of flowers, rows of orange-trees, birch, pines, lime-trees, and shrubs of various kinds, exactly as in other pleasure-gardens; with bowers and arbours all around it. The whole is heated in the winter by means of flues conveyed along the vaults beneath. Over the garden is a wire net, so fine as scarcely to be perceptible. Here are all kinds of singing-birds, foreign as well as native, flying about from tree to tree, as in the woods from whence they are brought, picking up the proper food distributed for them, making their nests, or warbling among the branches.

The statue of Peter the Great is another piece of magnificence which strikes every beholder. Stephen Falconet, a french artist, was the person fixed upon to execute the noble monument, at once worthy of the hero, and of the monarch that raised it. The exact model of it in plaister was exhibited to the public for the entire space of a year, in order that the artist might avail him-

self of the remarks of such persons as had pretensions to judgment and taste. The statue itself was finished in 1782. It represents the hero on horseback, riding up a rock of granite. This stone, which was found best adapted to the purpose, lay in a marshy forest of Karelia, near the village Lachta, at the distance of about twelve versts from St. Petersburg, and four versts from the shore of the gulf of Cronstadt; or about 42,250 english feet from the place of the monument to which it was to serve as a pedestal. After the superfluous parts were broke off by explosion, it was twenty-one feet in height, in breadth likewise twenty-one; in length thirty-eight; and its weight, by calculation, was three millions, two hundred thousand pounds. For transporting it to the place of its destination, this enormous mass was to be carried over heights, to be drawn across bogs and swampy grounds, to be embarked upon the Neva, to be brought on shore, and then conveyed some distance again by land. The largest obelisk that was ever known, that which Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, caused to be transported from Alexandria to Rome, weighed only 907,789 pounds, which does not amount to one-third part of the weight of the Petersburg rock. The transport of this enormous mass
was

was performed by a mechanical contrivance of count Carburi, who here passed under the name of the chevalier Lascari. First of all a solid road was made for the stone, all the way from the place where it lay to the bank of the river. Then, the ground being cleared from about it, metal sledges were insinuated beneath the fore-end, and under these, metal balls of five inches in diameter, in grooves likewise of metal; they next proceeded to pass cables round the stone, which, by means of windlasses, worked by four hundred men, all making their exertions together by beat of drum, advanced two hundred fathoms daily towards the river-side. The water-transport was managed by the nautical machine called camels, of a hundred and eighty feet in length, sixty-six in breadth, and seventeen in height. These being sunk to the water-level, when the stone had fallen upon them were pumped out, and rose with the stone upon them. In this situation for several days it looked like a moving mountain on the face of the river, till, in an oblique direction, it reached the opposite shore. Count Carburi has given a description of the whole transaction in his "*Monument élevé à la gloire de Pierre le grand,*" in folio, published 1777, for which he was honoured with the gold medal struck in memory of the undertaking.

The substance of the stone is granite, with a small mixture of white and coloured quartz, white and red feldspath, black and white micæ, and here and there discovers iron granits, and schoerl crystals. It is in many places of great beauty, and takes a high polish; the pieces that were chipped off, therefore, were made into knife-handles, bracelets, ear-rings, cane-heads, &c. which met with a great sale. The stone, in the shaping of it by M. Falconet, underwent so great a diminution, that he was at last obliged to enlarge the pedestal by the addition of a supplemental piece; which has entirely destroyed the effect intended to be derived from the consideration of its conveyance. The enemies of the artist did not fail to ascribe this to jealousy, lest the pedestal should excite more admiration than the statue. However this be, the statue would always have been, what it is, a masterpiece of art, both in its execution and its design. On the side of the stone towards the admiralty is inscribed: *Petru pervomu Ekatarina vtoraja*. And on the side towards the senate, the same in latin: *Petro primo Catharina secunda, 1782*. The statue was also cast by M. Falconet. It is of bell-metal, copper, with some proportion of tin and zinc, weighing together 44,041 russian pounds; the iron, forming the counterpoize in
the

the hinder-part of the horse, weighed ten thousand pound. The head, the arms, the feet, and the drapery of the hero, are in thickness only three, and the body four lines; the head and the fore-feet of the horse are three lines thick, but the thickness gradually increases hindwards to one inch. Few casts of such a magnitude are withal so thin. The figure of the monarch is eleven feet high, the dress is in the old russian style, with half-boots, whiskers, and a shock-head of hair surrounded with a laurel-crown. The right arm is extended, to use the words of the artist, *en pere et en maître*. The head was modelled by mademoiselle Collot; is esteemed a great likeness, and the whole attitude is noble and full of expression. The horse is executed in high perfection, animated with great fire and exertion, galloping up the rock, and treading with his hind-foot on a snake. Its height is seventeen feet.

We must, however, set bounds to the account of the subjects of curiosity in St. Petersburg, which would easily fill a volume of itself, and as so many are already treated of in the Life of the empress Catharine the second.

The sum total of the inhabitants of this city, according to Georgi, amounts to 217,948 persons of both sexes.

The city stands partly in Ingria, and partly in Finland, as well on the continent, as on islands in the Neva; which, in regard to its commerce, supplies the place of a harbour. According to professor Kraft's calculation, it comprehends a surface of $48\frac{2}{3}$ square versts, or a geographical square mile; but it is continually enlarging its dimensions. In the year 1784, it was found by a census to contain 192,446 persons; namely, 126,827 males, and 65,619 females: among whom were about 27,890 foreigners. I have already mentioned it as the imperial residence, containing the court, the supreme tribunals of the empire, and a multitude of superb palaces. It now remains to be spoken of as a great city, which, from only a couple of fishermen's huts in 1703, by the gigantic strides it has made since that period, certainly not a great length of time, is so increased, principally during the reign of the late empress, in magnitude and beauty, as to be now one of the largest and most magnificent cities in Europe. The stately buildings are numerous; the streets are spacious, running all in strait lines. As the capital of its government, here are all the courts of justice. As the chief place of trade, it abounds in compting-houses, handsome shops richly furnished with all articles of use or elegance, together with large magazines;

zines; and inhabited by a vast confluence of people of all languages, ranks, religions, and professions.

Here are likewise the admiralty for the Baltic fleet, the dock-yards, a foundery, an arsenal, the mint, the academies of sciences and of arts, several seminaries of education, hospitals, &c. all supported at the sole expence of the crown. As well within the town, as in its environs, are noble gardens, with elegant country-seats, belonging to persons of distinction, wealthy merchants and others.

The great quantity of provisions necessary for the supply of the numerous inhabitants, and the luxury prevalent in this metropolis, is brought in the winter season on sledges from the different provinces of the empire, and in summer along the Ladoga canal; and that in so great abundance, that a considerable superfluity may be shipped off for foreign parts. The importance of the commerce here has been already shewn: the following short comparative statement of the past and present time, may not be improperly inserted here. About the year 1736, the arrivals were annually estimated at nearly a hundred ships; about the year 1746, above two hundred; about the year 1756, they were already three hundred and upwards; about the year 1766, full four hundred;

hundred; about the year 1776, more than seven hundred; and at present they far exceed eight hundred. They bring commodities to the value of more than twelve millions of rubles; but carry away products to a much larger amount.

All the christian confessions have here the free and unmolested enjoyment of their religious practices, and their peculiar churches. For a cursory view of it I will give a list of the births, deaths, and marriages, in them all for the year 1790.

	Births.	Deaths.	Marr.
The Katarina congregation, } on the Vassiliofstrof, }	33	37	12
The Peters congregation,	294	230	93
The Anna congregation in } the Stickhof, }	131	127	40
The cadet-corps, - -	53	32	26
Engineer cadet-corps, - -	7	10	2
Swedish congregation, -	62	64	16
Finland congregation, - -	113	141	24
English congregation, -	30	13	5
Dutch congregation, - -	6	—	1
German reformed congregation,	20	11	6
French reformed congregation,	7	6	4
Roman catholic congregation,	102	87	23
Armenian congregation, -	2	6	—
In all	860	764	252

The insertion of more of these lists for past years would be quite unnecessary.

NARVA

Lies in 59 deg. 22 min. north lat. distant from St. Petersburg 144, and from Riga 400 versts, between Vierland, or more accurately, between Alentacken, in the district of Vierland, and Ingria, on the river Narva, called by some the Narova. In regard to the space it occupies, this must certainly be classed amongst the very moderate; but if we look at it on the side of its commerce and its fortifications, amongst the most considerable towns in Europe. Without including the suburb, Narva is about 500 paces in diameter, having but two principal streets, and several narrow avenues across them: it is divided into the old and the new town. The distinction which is made by a wall still standing is of no consequence whatever, being hardly perceptible by the inhabitants, especially since the ancient gate has been pulled down, through which it was impossible for two carriages to pass. The old town on the Narova, over against Ivangorod, was first built, as its name implies, and consists entirely of stone houses. The new town is an additional enlargement on the esthonian side; on which the batteries were directed the last time it was besieged and taken, having its houses partly of stone and partly of timber.

timber. The number of the former may amount to somewhat above 100; but in the two suburbs, of which the opposite one is not under the magistracy, but under the commandant, are about seventy wooden houses.

The fortifications which surround both the old and the new town are not equal to those of Riga, but are yet sufficient to hold out a long siege; they consist of a rampart, ditches, a good glacis, and some out-works. The great Petersburg road runs through the two principal gates; but in winter there is a way to town through the suburbs.

The foundations of Narva are said to have been laid by Valdemar II. king of Denmark, or his viceroy, in the year 1223 or 1224. At that time, belonging to Esthonia, it shared the same fate with it; falling in the year 1321 to the duke of Halland and Samsoe Knut, as a part of the donation made to them by king Christopher II. after which it came into the possession of the teutonic order. Its privileges are of great antiquity, like those of Reval, and were mostly obtained from king Eric; but Cyffe of Rutenberg, in the year 1426, conferred upon it a grand charter, with a seal and arms peculiar to it. The castle of Ivangorod, built in 1492, on the other side of the Narova, from whence
the

the shot will easily reach Narva, is beheld with great concern by the citizens, as menacing them with continual danger; however, they build their reliance of safety on the commercial treaty with Russia. The city was violently attacked by a numerous army of Russians in 1558; at length, obtaining a truce for four months, they immediately sent two ambassadors to the tzar at Mosco, imploring peace; but intelligence arriving of a great body of troops marching with all speed to their assistance, a constable of Narva was so rash as to fire upon the Russians, who were so provoked at this, that, taking advantage of a fire then accidentally breaking out in one of the streets, impetuously swam across the river, and made themselves masters of the town. The citizens, who had fled to the fortrefs, which was by no means tenable, and the garrison, were granted a free retreat. Narva was captured from the Russians, in 1581 by the Swedes. Many attempts were made by the former to retake it, particularly in 1590 and 1700, but without effect, till Peter the Great made the last conquest of it in 1704.

The want of a harbour, and the situation of the town at the distance of ten miles from the sea, is of no detriment to the commerce, as the large and navigable Narova amply makes up for both these disadvantages. Along this river ships
of

of all burdens pass with their full lading quite under the walls of the town; which, from its fortunate position, receives the products of Ingria, Esthonia, and, by means of the Peipus, from Russia and Livonia. For this reason trade has always flourished here; a considerable part of it indeed has been drawn to St. Petersburg, more from certain regulations that have been made for that purpose than from any superiority in convenience; however, it is still of great importance, not so much on account of the importation of foreign commodities, the demand for which is but very moderate, as for the exports which consist of masts, deals, flax, hemp, &c. Formerly corn was also shipped from hence, which for some years past has only once been done, and that branch of commerce now seems entirely at an end. The number of ships annually freighted here is extremely various; sometimes no more than seventy, and yet at others it has amounted to full 170, and therefore the duties rise and fall in the same ratio. Upwards of forty foreign houses are established here, mostly either english or german, besides inferior traders, and about fifty russian shopkeepers. The high waterfall of the Narova is rather an impediment to the navigation hither from the Peipus; but the advantages it procures greatly overbalance that inconvenience. The rivers Luga and
Rossana

Rossana afford the means of a more commodious transport from Ingria.

Among the public buildings must be reckoned the castle, two churches, the town-house, the exchange, and the school, all of brick and plaister, in what is called the old town; besides a wooden church in the new town, another in Ivangorod, and a third in the suburb. The castle, which under the several governments to which it has belonged, has been inhabited by a viceroy, a vogt, a governor, or a commandant, is separated from the town by a fosse, and is provided with an arsenal. The two brick churches have undergone some alteration in their occupancy since the beginning of the present century; that which was formerly the german is now a russian church, who have likewise one in Ivangorod, and a third in the suburb; and the former swedish church is now allotted to the Germans: the latter is served by two preachers, an oberpastor and a pastor. The swedish and the finland congregations have the little wooden church in the new town, and one preacher officiates in both. Lectures are given in the town-school by four professors. The municipal consistory is here, as in other towns, composed of spiritual and temporal members.

The

The town-house has nothing particularly striking ; two burgomasters, six councillors, and the secretary compose the magistracy. The income of the justiciary burgomaster amounts to 720 rubles, the commercial burgomaster's to 500, a counsel learned in the law 400, and the assessors from the body of merchants 200, including their customary perquisites. The town defrays its expences by a share in some particular duties and the excise, from the revenues arising from certain lands, &c.

At Narva is a very agreeable society, an unbounded hospitality, and, in some houses, a luxury not carried to excess, but conducted by a good taste.

This town, which belonged to the hanseatic league, was formerly called Liefland Narva, in contradistinction to the fortress of Ivangorod, which commonly went under the name of Russian Narva ; that of Ivangorod having been given it from its builder the grand-duke Ivan Vassillievitch, surnamed the great, or the elder. It is inhabited solely by the garrison, for whose use there is a russian church : it stands on an eminence, and, from its antiquated walls and towers, has a romantic appearance.

Below and about the cataract are several saw-mills. At the time when the exportation of
deals

deals was entirely prohibited, a wealthy merchant here built a saw-mill at a great expence; and the permission that was shortly after granted to the exportation of deals forced his friends to change their censures on his folly into admiration of his prudence and foresight.

The taking of salmon and lampreys here furnishes bread to great numbers of people; both these kinds of fish are carried round the country far and wide, and the latter are esteemed the best produced in all the empire. — In the vicinity of the water-fall are many elegant pleasure-houses and gardens; but still more about the spot where the Narova flows into the gulf. A work of immense labour and difficulty was here brought to effect a few years ago, which was that of stopping the accession of sand, which was annually accumulating to such a degree at the mouths of the Luga and the Rossana, that the navigation to Cronstadt was already much impeded.

Not far from the town, for the prevention of smuggling, on account of the higher duties paid there than in the other towns of Livonia, on the esthonian side is a fastava, where all articles going to Narva are visited. Travellers of every description must submit to this visitation,
unless

unless their baggage be protected by the imperial signet.

From Narva to St. Petersburg the post goes regularly twice a-week; which, as well as the road itself, has of late been greatly improved. On this road, behind Narva, about four versts from Yamburg, some travellers in the year 1770, met with an object that had never been noticed before, and which excited much surprise. Some slight accident having happened to their carriage, while the driver was putting it to rights, they strolled into the thick woods by the road-side; where, on an eminence, they discovered the four lofty walls of a very antient vaulted edifice, without any other roof, but perfectly entire and undamaged, and completely overgrown all around with the Norway-spruce fir; each about three fathoms high. The green colour of the walls within; the lofty situation on which it stood, with the trees growing out of it from all parts; the order in which they seem to have been planted; the venerable antiquity of the vaults and walls; the obscurity that reigned within the arched aisles; the romantic forest; all conspired to render it a most interesting object to the contemplative mind. From a small distance opposite the grand entrance, it had the appearance of an elegant grott.

grott. I never recollect to have seen these Norway-spruce growing on the ruined walls of our churches and abbeys, though I have observed plenty of mountain-ash in like situations. This sight, which can better be conceived than described, is now no more. It soon became the subject of general curiosity; the trees were cleared away, and the building, thoroughly repaired and beautified, is now nothing more than an old church vamped up for the use of the manufacturers at Yamburg.

DORPAT OR DERPT,

By the Russians called YURIEVETZ LIVONSKOI, and from some antient records I find it to have been called TARBAT and TARBETEN. It has every requisite for being a place of considerable trade; being situated in the heart of the country, on the high road to St. Petersburg, at a great distance from other towns, as from Riga 226, from Reval 185, from Narva 174 versts, and as far from Pernau; 60 from Valk, 90 from Veissenstein, and not less from Fellin: the inhabitants, therefore, easily find a vent for their merchandize, and an ample supply of necessaries. Indeed the several roads that run through

Dorpat to the forementioned towns, render it a continual passage for soldiers, and subject it to the necessity of providing quarters for the troops; but then it furnishes the burghers with great opportunities of profit, and promotes a circulation of money. The river Embach flows through it, so as to divide the town on the north-east from the suburbs; the communication between them being kept up by a broad and pretty high wooden bridge, which, however, is frequently damaged by the going away of the ice, and by the floods in the spring, causing great expence to the town-chest. In 1761 it was entirely carried away. The river supplies the town not only with water and excellent fish, but with an easy transport to several parts of the country round. From the district of Pfcove, and the places adjacent, come masts, wood, flax, tallow, tar, pitch, &c. from the Peipus and the Vercherf fish, and from other places firewood. Of the origin of its esthonian name Tartolin, I am entirely ignorant; the russian appellation Yurief, it is said to bear from its founder, a grand duke of Russia, whom some call Yurief, and others, certainly with greater reason, Yurie Yaroslav Vladimirovitch. However this may be, it was built either in 1020 or 1030. The teutonic

tonic knights conquered the town, lost it, and presently afterwards conquered it again. So early as 1224 it was erected into a bishopric; at which time, on two eminences contiguous to the town, the cathedral and the episcopal palace were begun to be built. Yaroslav Yaroslavitch the third again reduced the place to the obedience of Russia in 1267, but was unable to hold it long. However, tzar Ivan Vassillievitch revived the antient claims, and endeavoured to make them valid by force of arms, on pretence that the conditions of several treaties were unfulfilled, and seized on Dorpat in 1558. The particulars of the siege are to be seen in Arndt's chronicle. From that time the town underwent several changes, and also a variety of severe misfortunes, among which are to be reckoned many hard sieges: as in 1603 by the Poles, in 1656 by the Russians; three by the Swedes, namely in 1601, in 1607, and again in 1625. It is, therefore, no wonder that in the chronicles we see the burghers one while running away, at others reduced to poverty, their houses become desolate, trade destroyed, the universities deserted soon after their institution, and the town nearly ruined. At the beginning of the eighteenth century their distress was almost at its extremity; but a long succession of prosperous years at length effaced

the remembrance of their past sufferings. The last siege happened in 1704, when an obstinate defence only brought greater glory to the russian conquerors. In the year 1707, by the explosion of mines, the town was nearly reduced to a heap of ruins; all the valuables from the churches and houses were carried to Russia, and the inhabitants obliged to follow them. Their then pastor, John Henry Grotjan, accompanied his congregation; and the church-book mentions that he was forced to leave his library, valued at 4000 dollars, behind him, having only just time to hide what plate he had in a sepulchral vault in the swedish church. The same book likewise adds, that neither the burghers nor their wives shed one tear at being driven from the place, so hardened were they by the long series of calamities they had experienced. A parish-clerk composed the whole distressful event into an esthonian ditty, which Grotjan has inserted in the church-book; he there relates the tragical end which the two magistrates of Dorpat, Krop and Morfin, brought upon themselves by an illicit correspondence; as also the untimely fate of Adrian Virgin, the pastor of Odenpais, who suffered death by the hands of the common hangman, for having raised a small corps, which he headed himself,
and

and did much injury to the ruffian troops. The year 1718 restored liberty, peace, and unanimity, to the burghers; they obtained permission to return, repaired to the deserted place, and rebuilt their habitations; so that the town seemed to have risen again from its ruins. Indeed, instead of the brick houses that had been demolished, only wooden ones sprung up. Formerly no burgher might carry on any trade in the suburbs; he was now at liberty to settle where he pleased, and to enjoy municipal rights, and there was seen no distinction between the people of the town and those of the suburbs. Under the mild and happy government of Russia, Dorpat enjoys an undisturbed repose, and feels its prosperity increase from day to day. Already the number of brick houses amounts to upwards of 30, whereof two in the market-place, and four others not far from it, are an ornament to the city. But the frequent fires that happen here are a great drawback on the inhabitants. The number of habitations is estimated at 570; namely, 178 within the town; in the suburbs across the Embach 165; before the gate, as far as the hill, 152; and 75 along the Embach towards the Jacob's-gate. About five-and-thirty years ago the plan of fortifying the place was seriously adopted, and some progress actually made in

it. No great difficulty would attend its completion, as the several eminences about the city are very favourable to such an undertaking. The ruins of the old episcopal palace on the second hill adjoining to the Domberg, have been entirely carried away, and worked up in the new fortress, which has a major-general for its commandant. Dorpat was formerly one of the hanse towns. Here was the staple and depot of all the merchandise brought from Russia. Commerce flourished; the citizens were wealthy; several churches and handsome structures were built; the city was next in consequence to Riga and Reval; it had a voice in the election of a bishop, and in the diet of the country. But what an alteration now! Its commerce has long since taken another course. From 1630 to 1700 the courts of justice and the supreme consistory brought importance and profit to the town; they are both transferred to Riga. In the last century Dorpat was signalized beyond the other towns of Livonia by its university. King Gustavus Adolphus erected a school for the town and country, consisting of three colleges; which was shortly after changed into a gymnasium with eight professors; and lastly, on the 19th of October 1632, into an academy with 16 professors, and a grant of the same privileges with

with that of Upsal. In 1656, by the devastations brought on in the war with Russia, it fell into decay; king Charles XI. revived it in 1690, but it was thought expedient to remove it to Pernau, August 28, 1699, where, after a short continuance, it was entirely abandoned in 1710*. The inhabitants, whose number may amount to about 3300 persons, consist of Germans, Russians, and Esthonians. Their commerce is not absolutely insignificant, though not proportionate to the number of merchants. Here are annually four licensed fairs. The greatest begins the 7th of January, and lasts three weeks. It is frequented by none but Riga traders, who carry away with them some thousand rubles, as buyers are found from various districts, and even from Russia. The merchants of Dorpat, therefore, dispose of a great many commodities; but with some pains their trade might be much improved. The other three fairs last only one or two days; and are confined solely to provisions, horses, and cattle. The former trade by water can never have been great, as no larger vessels than moderate sized boats could have been employed in it. What we are told of the lost pas-

* For more particular accounts, see Muller's Samml. russ. gesch. tom. ix.

sage by water to Pernau is highly improbable. Some pretend to draw a proof of the greatness of the antient trade by water, from a swedish squadron that lay at Dorpat ; but they are mistaken. The emperor Peter I. caused a fleet to be fitted out on the russian side of the Peipus lake, for the purpose of carrying a number of troops against Dorpat ; but what he called ships were no better than good boats, each capable of taking fifty men on board. The fleet came ; a swedish fleet of the like and smaller boats went to meet it from Dorpat, along the Embach, but was beaten ; on which occasion it is said, that the commander, for fear of ill treatment from the russian victors, blew himself up in the air with his own ship. The Peipus and the Embach are at present capable of bearing such vessels as those were ; but the Fellin rivers, by which the transport must be made to Pernau, are too small for that purpose ; they would hardly admit of them in the highest spring-floods. The most commodious channel, at all seasons of the year, would be that across the Peipus to Narva. All unmarried merchants are obliged to belong to the corps of the black-heads, which is drawn out in parade on horse-back, with their proper standards, on all solemn occasions, as on the arrival of any person of high station, and some particular festivals. By an antient

antient charter the houses of the noblesse and the officers of the crown enjoy a perfect exemption from taxes, finding quarters for soldiers and the like. As their number increases, the burden becomes the heavier on the rest. It has, therefore, been decreed, that the old houses shall continue to enjoy this privilege undisturbed; but such as shall henceforward purchase houses of burghers, shall bear the burthens like them, of whatever rank they may happen to be. This, and several other good regulations, have entirely composed the differences that used to subsist between the two classes. A well formed plan of water-carriage, the restoration of the university, &c. might indeed be of great service to the city. But other means could be as advantageously employed. The capital advanced by the crown some years ago without interest, for its encouragement, shews how well the government is disposed towards it, and has already been attended with great effects. Several merchants here carry on a very prosperous trade; and Dorpat ensures success to all who follow their business with industry, integrity, and care, and know how to proportion their expences to their incomes.

REVAL,

A very fine old maritime town. It has a harbour and a fort; and is situate on the gulf of Finland, in lat. $59^{\circ} 26' 22''$ and of longit. $42^{\circ} 27' 30''$ distant from Riga 310, from Narva 196, from Dorpat 186, from Pernau 138 versts, 340 from St. Petersburg, and 1070 from Mosco. By the Russians it is called Kolivan, and by the Esthonians Tallin. To account for the origin of this russian name is extremely difficult. I will just mention a couple of conjectures on the subject, though neither of them may be very satisfactory. We learn from history, that, previous to the building of the city, two monasteries stood in this place. They were, perhaps, employed as public schools, and the boors might have only known them by that name. Kool, Koli, in the esthonian, signifies the school. Vanna, old; vannem, an elder, or president; in the plural number vannemad, the elders, companies, &c. kolivannem, a school-elder, therefore too a president of the monastery, may have given rise to the appellation. Or it may be derived from vang, a prisoner; kolivang, one shut up in a convent; or from vanne, an oath. If we were desirous of multiplying conjectures, we might have recourse to the esthonian word kolima, to die,

die, and to the war-cry, Koli vanna ; especially as these people when they are enraged frequently use the word vanna as a term of abuse.

The country around it is a deep sand, in which scarcely a blade of grass is to be seen, especially to the west, and only here and there a famished tree. Yet the inhabitants pretend that here formerly grew a large and beautiful forest of pines, which was unhappily destroyed by fire, and the sand has been continually increasing ever since ; perhaps by storms of wind let in by the annihilation of the forest. At least this is affirmed by some. A few places, however, hereabouts are of a good soil, and produce rich crops of grass. It is likewise pretended, that on the spot where Reval stands was antiently a town called Lindaniss : it is more certain that it includes the space of two monasteries still remaining, built in times very remote, concerning the building and endowment whereof, opinions are greatly divided. Some supposing them to be the work of the two kings Erich II. and Erich V. of Denmark. According to the charter of foundation, and other writings still preserved, the monastery of St. Michael, in the city of Reval, was founded by king Erich IV. in the year 1093. This testimony is certainly decisive as to that point. All accounts agree that the city owes
its

its origin to Valdemar the second, king of Denmark; but, in regard to the year in which it was built, there is a great diversity. Some state it to have been in the year 1218*, while others affirm it to have been built in 1220. One author says, that Valdemar built the city 130 years after the foundation of the monastery of St. Michael, consequently about the year 1223. The name Reval, written by some Revel, is found long before the building of the city; its origin is sought for in two small islands lying near the harbour, which formerly were reffe†, and in several traditions equally uncertain. The russian appellation Kolivan has been already mentioned; and the esthonian Tallin is said to be a contraction of Danilin, i. e. the danish town, as the Esthonians have no word beginning with D, but always make use of T in its stead; and which is the more probable, as the Lettonians call this city Dannupils. In regard to its sovereign, it has at all times followed the fortune of the dukedom. The most prominent particulars of its history are, that it was enlarged in 1310, and the monastery of St. Michael inclosed within its walls; that by a dreadful fire

* In Dr. Busching's geography, by a manifest error of the press, it is placed in 1228.

† Sand banks.

in 1433, it was reduced to ashes, together with its suburbs; that about the year 1524 the reformation was adopted with great approbation; that, by a contagious distemper which broke out in 1532, a considerable part of the inhabitants were carried off; and that by another fire which happened in 1553, much damage was done both to the cathedral and to the town. Among its privileges are to be reckoned its former extensive staple, and the right of coinage granted in 1265. A nobleman had killed one of his boors, whose relations traced him to the town, where they seized him, and kept him in confinement, and in 1535 brought him out and beheaded him between the city gates. This, together with additional provocations on both sides, caused such animosity between the nobility and the peasantry, as brought on a train of serious consequences. The breach was however healed at length by a commission, who settled their differences in a treaty composed of eighteen articles. However, new troubles arising, which threatened the country with ruin, in 1651 the city made a formal surrender of itself to the king of Sweden. The Russians laid siege to it in 1577, and were repulsed with great loss; but the emperor Peter the Great took it by capitulation in 1710, who confirmed it in all its rights and immunities;

ties; when the plague, which had committed dreadful havoc during the siege, immediately abated: and ever since that time the inhabitants have enjoyed an uninterrupted security and peace.

Reval is of a moderate extent; and, though far inferior to Riga in point of trade, population, wealth, and consequence, yet comes very near it in regard to circuit and dimensions. Within its walls are 663 brick edifices disposed of in regular streets; in the pretty extensive suburbs are 1100 wooden houses. The city contains thirteen churches; namely, seven lutheran and six russian; two respectable schools, the town-gymnasium, and the equestrian school, with a few of smaller note; some patrimonial estates amounting to sixty haaks; but far around them a barren soil of deep sand or rocky bottom; but a tolerably safe and commodious harbour, visited annually by 100 foreign vessels, and sometimes more. They, however, frequently miss of a back-freight, therefore the yearly exports of livonian and russian products together do not exceed in value 100,000 rubles; though sometimes, but very rarely, they have been known to double that sum; whereas the imports of foreign merchandize amounted formerly to 400,000 rubles, but in the year 1787 to upwards

wards of twice as much ; and, in 1790, to about four millions ; however, among them were many articles from Mosco and St. Petersburg. What Mr. Busching mentions of low duties at Reval is a mistake ; formerly it might be so, but in the year 1782 all the russian ports (some few in the Black sea excepted) had the same tarif, with only this one difference, that in Reval all manner of coin, and even bank-assignments, are taken in paying the duties ; whereas in Riga nothing is received at the custom-house but Albert's dollars, which are reckoned very low at 125 kopeeks. Yet in Reval, probably on account of the great number of merchants resident there, all foreign goods are much dearer than in Riga. — Before the death of the late empress the harbour here was shortly to be enlarged so as to contain ships of war.

R I G A,

The capital of the government of that name, the seat of the general governor, and the governor, is situate on the western Dvina, at a distance of fourteen versts from where it disembogues into the Baltic, in $56^{\circ} 51'$ north lat. and $41^{\circ} 40'$ long., 545, or, according to others, 552 versts from St. Petersburg, and is one of
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the principal ports of trade in the whole empire. At the same time it is a strongly fortified frontier town, especially since 1786, when its fortifications were considerably improved. The city in itself is not of any great extent; its buildings, to the number of 800, are of brick, substantially built, but its streets are somewhat narrow. The suburbs include a larger space. Here are sixteen large churches, namely, eight russian, six lutheran, one reformed, and one roman catholic. The houses, as in all the maritime towns of Germany, are built with the gable-ends towards the street, the upper stories serving for warehouses. The six lutheran churches are old gothic structures, containing sumptuous monuments and epitaphs; in that of St. James, where the sermons are preached on days of ceremony, and where the supreme consistory holds its sessions, is a remarkably fine organ. Travellers are usually struck with the imperial palace, the old castle where the governor-general resides, the arsenal well provided with military stores, the various chanceries, the courts of justice, the vice-governor's house, the house heretofore belonging to the teutonic knights, of great antiquity, with its spacious and noble hall, the town-house with the exchange, rebuilt in 1749, the weigh-house, and market-house, the corn magazine, the im-

perial lyceum, the city-gymnasium, the schools, hospitals, &c. The fortifications about the town, the citadel, the magazines, and the inside of the arsenal, are not permitted to be seen; and it is advisable for travellers to set bounds to their curiosity on all these matters, lest they should come into jeopardy. The greater part of the inhabitants are germanized Russians and lettish boors, with some few English, Swedes, Finns, Poles, &c. The citizens are divided into several guards and companies; as, the black-heads and the green and blue guards. To the black-heads belong the black-head house, that just above-mentioned as formerly belonging to the knights of the teutonic order, called black-heads from their banners, on which is painted a blackmoor's head, a decoration seen in every part of the house. In it are likewise shewn several ancient curiosities of various kinds. The building is likewise known by the name of batchelor's hall. At present this fraternity, which enjoys several immunities, consists of about forty merchants, who must be unmarried. In the suburbs of Riga the buildings are almost all of wood. The city is surrounded by deep and heavy sands, and yet not far from it are two imperial gardens, open to the inhabitants for their amuse-

ment: the nearest of them is laid out in strait walks and hedges of dutch lindens, affording an agreeable prospect over the Duna, enlivened by the frequent passing of ships of all denominations. Across this river, which here is very broad, is a floating wooden bridge, forty feet in breadth, and 2600 in length, thus formed: a row of piles is driven from one to the other; each pile being from twenty-five to forty feet in length, according to the depth of the river, and appearing about four feet above the water's level. To these piles the several parts of the bridge are loosely fastened, by means of iron chains fixed to the transverse beams. The bridge therefore rises and falls with the river; and when heavy carriages pass over, it plays under the wheels as if actuated by a spring. This bridge is the fashionable walk, and presents an agreeable busy scene when crowded with people, being hemmed on each side with ships admitting or delivering their cargoes. In the beginning of winter, when the frost is setting in, the bridge is taken to pieces and removed; the piles left in the water are forced up by the ice and conveyed to land: the whole is again laid down, on the melting of the ice, in the spring. From 700 to 800 foreign ships arrive here annually, and some
years

years more, importing merchandize to the amount of upwards of one million, but carrying away commodities to the value of above four millions. Pleschtscheyef is mistaken in making these exports to consist in livonian products: the greatest part of them come from other russian provinces, as well as from Courland and Poland, especially masts, flax, hemp, oil, linen, pot-ash, hides, all kinds of corn, hempseed, linseed, &c. That author is again mistaken, in saying that numbers of horses and cattle are brought from Livonia into Russia. At times some horses are bought up here for a regiment, or are sent to Petersburg for the use of the army, but far more are brought hither from Russia. The fat oxen that go from hence to Petersburg in the spring season, have mostly been driven hither in the autumn for the purpose of being fattened. The fort of Dunamund, about fifteen versts from Riga, is worth notice, as a protection to the entrance of the Duna. It is also used for the confinement of state prisoners. But the observation of Mr. Pleschtscheyef, that the duty on ships is collected here, is an inadvertency.

The city was built about the year 1200, and is a speaking monument to the honour of Al-

bert, the third bishop of Livonia, and afterwards its first archbishop. It takes its name neither from an adjacent lake, nor from the habitations of the boors formerly standing there, called *riegen*; but from a small arm of the Duna, named *Rige* or *Ryghe*, which was afterwards filled up on account of its bad-smelling water, and converted into the *Riesings-canal*.

The above-mentioned bishop Albert built the cathedral, which he dedicated with great solemnity to the honour of the mother of Jesus, on the festival of St. James, in the year 1211. To protect his church against the frequent attacks of the infidel inhabitants of the country, at that time very numerous, and to subdue a greater portion of his territory to the christian name, he instituted, with the consent of the roman pontiff, the spiritual order of the **KNIGHTS OF CHRIST**, or, as they were as often called, **THE BROTHERS OF THE SWORD**; which dates its origin from the appointment of its first master, *Vinno von Rohrbach*, in 1204, and, lasting but thirty-four years, terminated with *Volquin von Winterstadt* in 1238. This bishop also, in 1223, built the castle of *Lemſal*.

By the help of the order, while it stood under Albert, together with foreign merchants
and

and other Germans, the whole country was reduced under the episcopal authority. And here the city, as partaker in the conflict, obtained its share of the spoil, namely, a territorial property, patrimony, or, as it is termed in the latin records of the years 1225 and 1226, *marchiam civitatis*, *stadts-mark*, or civil lordship; as also by the mediation of the cardinal bishop William of Modena, the third part of the lands obtained in Livonia and Courland, as well as of the islands *Œsel* and *Mohn*, which were presently after confirmed to it by an edict issued in 1230 conjointly by the bishop, the master of the order, and the city, together with a particular patent, by virtue whereof fifty-six burghers of Riga were empowered to accept the donation from Baldwin, bishop of Semigallia, of all the lands on this and the other side of Vindau, and to hold them as a fief.

This bishop also granted to the city, among other privileges, the right of striking money, with the injunction to direct it by the coinage of Gothland. And, as the citizens, who were partly from Bremen and Lubeck, partly from Mecklenburg and Gothland, &c. had from the first conformed to the municipal jurisprudence of Visby, they were not only confirmed in the exercise of this right, in 1225, by the papal

legate and bishop William of Modena, but also by the patent granted by bishop Nicholas in 1238 obtained the liberty of improving and extending the new city, as circumstances and the common benefit should require.

During the time of this Nicholas, the fourth bishop of Livonia, in the year 1238, Herman Balk, first master of the teutonic order in Livonia, united, with the consent of the pope, the brethren of the Sword *, or the knights of Christ, with the teutonic or marian order in Prussia; and by virtue of this union the former knights were to abandon the badge of the Sword on their white cloaks, and adopt the Black Cross of the teutonic knights. This was therefore the commencement of the government of the masters of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.

The city at that time bore in its ensigns armorial a city-gate with towers, having two keys over it, with a cross in the middle; yet the keys were perpendicularly placed, as we see in the seal of a document written in 1232, and the gate is represented entirely open. The first instance of the city bearing the two keys in saltier, and a lion's head in the gateway, is in the seal of a treaty concluded in 1349.

* *Fratres Ensisferi.*

The church assumed another form, on the elevation of it into an archiepiscopal seat by pope Alexander IV. in 1255.

Now, whether the foregoing privileges and rights were confirmed to the city by the succeeding archbishops, to whose sovereignty alone it was then subject, as they had been in 1275 by John of Lunen, in 1296 by John of Schverin, and in 1305 by archbishop Frederic ; yet the changes that had taken place in the order in Livonia, and its gradually increasing power, were highly prejudicial to the city : for, as the masters of the order pretended to an equality with the archbishop, as well in pre-eminence as in regard to the city, there arose continual feuds and intestine wars. On these occasions the city was obliged to take part with the archbishop, as its prince, and give him assistance against the order : and this furnished the master Eberhard of Monheim with a pretext for investing the town. On its surrender, and the capitulation that followed, it was made a principal article, that the city should thenceforward be subject to the order ; in return for which Monheim confirmed its privileges in 1330, but thought proper in the year after to build the fort or castle of Riga for his own security and that of his successors.

These disputes continually increasing between the parties rendered it frequently difficult for the city to determine to which it owed its obedience. However, we learn from the ancient records, that the archbishops generally exercised the sovereignty over the city, which, according to the testimony of a record still in being among the archives, was already comprized in the number of the hanseatic towns in the middle of the thirteenth century. At the accession of archbishop Frombold to the government, in 1350, the privileges were again confirmed. In 1406 the church of St. Peter, as it now stands, was built at the expence of the town. In 1421 archbishop John, in 1435 archbishop Henning, and lastly, in 1450, archbishop Sylvester, and the then master of the order John of Mengden, entered into a treaty at Kirkholm; and at the same time established a twofold regulation, in virtue whereof the whole of its privileges and constitution were confirmed by that master to the city in 1454.

After this, Herman von der Borg, having attained to the mastership, repeated this confirmation in 1472, and pope Sixtus IV. as the papal authority was every day gaining fresh accessions of force in Livonia, indulged the city with additional

ditional immunities and grants, by a bull from the chair of Rome in 1478.

Shortly after fresh disturbances arose, and in a tumult that happened in 1485 the castle was demolished by the burghers; but, as the order was become decidedly their superior in point of force, it was ten years afterwards rebuilt.

In 1515 Riga withdrew itself entirely from the archiepiscopal authority, threw itself under the protection of the order alone, and seven years afterwards adopted the reformation. The duchy of Livonia, having submitted in 1562 to the king of Poland, Riga alone for some years maintained its freedom, notwithstanding the fair promises held out; till at length, in 1581, terms very advantageous to the city being proposed, the inhabitants came to the resolution of accepting the offer. However, it remained not long under the polish supremacy. King Gustavus Adolphus made the conquest of it in 1621, after a long and cruel siege, confirmed it in the enjoyment of its rights and privileges, endowed it with considerable portions of land, and gave it a governor. The annals of Riga have preserved the memory of many fortunate, but also of many disastrous events; among those of the latter class are several hard sieges and calamitous fires.

fires. Thus, we find, under the year 1656, that the citizens were harrassed for six weeks by a bloody siege on the part of the Russians; their brave defence procured the magistrate four years afterwards an elevation to nobility, the city an equal rank with Stockholm, and its arms a regal crown. In 1667 and 1677 two great fires occasioned sad devastation; by the former many ancient records were lost; the second was discovered to have been done by evil-minded persons, and continued raging for three whole days. In the year 1700 Riga was attacked by the Poles, and the former Koberfort on the Duna taken. The governor Dahlberg saw himself compelled to set fire to the suburbs. In the following year the Poles were repulsed, and everything, even the Dunamund fortress that had submitted was abandoned to the victorious Swedes. At length the last remarkable æra in regard to the sovereignty arrived. Riga, being once more hotly besieged by the Russians in 1710, it was obliged, notwithstanding its vigorous defence, to enter into a capitulation, which was concluded on the 30th of June of the same year, by Herman von Vitte, and John von Reutern, in conjunction with the elders of the guilds; since which time it has uninterruptedly enjoyed the fruits of its commerce

merce and industry, under the government of the russian monarchs. The antient supporters of their shield were now changed; and, instead of the two lions at the sides, was substituted the russian imperial eagle; the grant of which it received in 1723, by the then general-governor prince Repnin.

The strong and lofty rampart about the town has ten bastions, and on the land-side four ravelins, a covered way and a glacis. All the ramparts, as well as the fosses, are faced with strong walls; and the whole of the fortification is constructed in the modern style, though not on one regular plan. For example, to some of the bulwarks we see orillans in the Vauban's method, but to others broken flanks. On the side next the Duna it is completely defended by proper works. The commander in chief is always a general in the army.

Foreigners find here an agreeable society. Persons of taste, polished manners, men of letters, amateurs and connoisseurs of music, &c. The inhabitants have at first an air of reserve, but are found upon trial to be extremely complaisant.

The city has under its jurisdiction two kinds of boors, namely, hereditary boors on the patrimonial estates, and free boors who dwell in and
about

about the town. The latter, notwithstanding their being free, are obliged to perform certain services, such as keeping clean the city-quay, putting up and removing the floating bridges, drawing the cannons to and fro, &c. They maintain themselves by the fishery, breeding of cattle, and acting in the capacity of porters and day-labourers.

By an unfortunate fire that broke out in the year 1667 many of the antient records were lost; but great numbers of excellent memorials, manuscripts, and rare books, are still preserved in the town-library, and among them the archives of the equestrian order, highly deserving the attention of the curious, and indispensable to the historian. Probably persons will be found from time to time who will make a good use of these treasures of antiquity, and by their researches be of great service to the public.

A city of so great importance as Riga certainly merits a more ample detail of its history and circumstances; but I must be sparing of the patience of my reader, as well as of the space I prescribed to myself in this work, which otherwise might easily run out into a folio volume. For this reason I have only extracted some particulars from the annals of Riga, and have left many remarkable particulars untouched; such

as the unhappy disturbances that arose about the calendar towards the year 1586, which the citizens looked upon as a papal innovation, detrimental to religion, and thought themselves justified in making a stout resistance to it, for which numbers of them paid very dear. These troubles were not terminated, and peace fully restored, till 1589. Again the burning of the suburbs by the Swedes in 1601, &c. In conclusion I shall only observe, that the weekly publication of a newspaper has been regularly continued since the year 1760, by an office set up for that purpose by one of the council.

CRONSTADT,

Famous for its three secure and spacious harbours, its marine-cadet-corps, magazines of stores for the sea-service, and many excellent and costly works, especially its docks and canals, is situated on an island in the gulf of Finland, forty-seven versts from St. Petersburg. It properly belongs to no province, and is therefore no capital of a district, as no territory could properly be struck round it: yet it is a town with its commandants and magistracy. To the particulars I have already given of this island, I shall here only add, that the

western end is narrow, and protected by fort St. Alexander. But, on the breaking out of the last war with Sweden, large batteries were erected on both sides of the island, properly provided with heavy cannon, which were brought thither with surprising speed, and at a great expence. Among the works interrupted by the wars with Sweden and the Turks, and soon afterwards by the attack upon Poland, not to be accounted for by any known principles of humanity or justice, we must reckon the following, which, on the re-establishment of peace, were once more resumed with vigour: 1. The facing the harbours with granite: 2. The capacious stone magazines for keeping the sea-stores, building on the canals, in order that vessels may come quite up to them for loading and unloading; two of which were finished some time in the year 1788: 3. The large casernes of brick for the naval officers and sailors *. The before-mentioned canal for the refitting of ships runs quite across the island, and is filled with water, by means of sluices, when-

* Each of them 100 fathom in front, and consisting of three stories, and yet they contain only lodgings for the sailors; the kitchens and ovens are behind in the yards. The whole number of these casernes are twelve; those for the officers are to be in the wings, and of the length of thirty-five fathom in front.

ever ships are to come in or go out: but, as soon as the ships that want repairs are admitted, the water is pumped out into a basin by a steam engine, and the ships are left dry upon props and struts, so that the workmen can walk under them and employ themselves on every part with equal facility. In the town is a medical institution in which four professors give lectures. The greater part of the russian fleet is kept here, in a mole appropriated to it; and in another, during the summer, are seen the merchant ships from all nations delivering their cargoes into galliots for St. Petersburg, or taking in their loading out of the same sort of vessels from that place. — At the distance of a cannon-shot from the pier-heads stands Cronslot, likewise on an island; which little fort was provided with ramparts of granite, and a new set of cannons in the year 1788. Betwixt it and Cronstadt all ships going to St. Petersburg are obliged to pass; and these two islands may be regarded as the key to that capital by sea.

This government, formerly called Ingria, was conquered from Sweden in 1702, and, by the treaty concluded at Neustadt, confirmed to Russia in 1721, has indeed many morasses and plains of sand, especially near Yamburg; yet also a great deal of good corn and meadow-land.

land. Its inhabitants would be amply supplied with all kinds of necessaries, if the populous residence were not so exorbitant in its demands. Agriculture is the principal employment carried on in the flat country, where, as there is a sufficiency of forests, the fields are manured by fire.

In many places the corn is dried for threshing in ovens; in others it is threshed directly undried from the field, or even upon it. Some proprietors of estates distil great quantities of brandy, and deliver it to the crown, in which this monopoly is vested, by contracts voluntarily entered into. — The country-people consist of Russians and Finns *; accordingly we hear two languages spoken here, or, if we include the german, three. The churches likewise are two kinds, russian and lutheran; the former under the metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg; to the latter the college of justice supplies the place of a consistory.

The number of inhabitants of both sexes in this government amounts to 367,200.

* Though these two nations are not to be reckoned among the richest; yet they live in a pretty substantial manner, as they can dispose of their products in the neighbouring residence, among which we may reckon the very stones of their fields, at a good price, and have also an opportunity of earning money by various kinds of labour.

The

The arms of St. Petersburg are : two anchors in saltier, argent ; through which a sceptre passes perpendicularly, or, in a field gules.

The uniform : a light blue cloth coat, with a black velvet collar, lappels and cuffs, black lining, white waistcoat, and yellow buttons.

ARCHANGEL.

Formerly one part of this country went under the name of Biarmia, and had its own kings ; but in the 11th and 12th centuries it fell to Russia. After which the whole province was under the governor of Novgorod, and comprised those districts which now form the governments of Vologda and Olonetz.

ARCHANGEL, commonly called ARCHANGELSK, so named from a monastery built there in honour of archangel Michael. It is a sea-port, with a court of admiralty and a dock-yard, lying in lat. $64^{\circ} 33' 40''$ and longit. $56^{\circ} 39' 15''$ on the river Dvina, 30 versts from where it falls into the White Sea ; at the distance of 1145 versts from St. Petersburg, and 1236 from Mosco. The city consists properly of only one street, with scarcely any but wooden houses, occupies however a considerable space, and is the seat of a bishop, who resides in the monastery there. Here it was,

that, by a fortunate accident, the English first landed in this empire, in the year 1553, while seeking the passage to China and India by the Frozen ocean. The tzar Ivan Vassillievitch, who was immediately struck with the great advantages that would accrue to his empire from this new branch of commerce, granted them signal privileges. They had an exemption from all duties, were allowed to set up counting-houses, and erect magazines where they pleased, and to vend their commodities in whatever places they should think most convenient. During the reign of Ivan the english trade flourished greatly; the new company settled colonies in different parts of the empire: one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouses and established a rope-walk; others at Novgorod and Vologda. Their principal settlement was at Mosco, where the tzar built for their residence a spacious brick edifice, to which they gave the name of the ambassador's house. The chief articles of merchandize exported by the first english ships from Russia, were furs and skins, masts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train-oil, tar, pitch, and leather. The english commodities were chiefly cloths of all sorts, cottons and tin. By the death of Ivan the english lost their great support; and, on the accession of Feodor,

Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for some time refused. But at length the exclusive right of trade, which had been frequently revoked, and as often renewed, appears to have been finally abrogated by tzar Borice Godunof, who extended to the Dutch several privileges which had hitherto been confined to the English; and reinstated the hanseatic towns in their antient traffic to Novgorod and Pfcove. Still, however, the privileges which remained to the factory were very considerable, especially that material one of a free commerce to all parts of the russian dominions, without paying any duties of import and export. At the revolution that placed Demetrius on the throne, the english factory conceived great hopes of recovering its patent of exclusive trade, as appears from a letter written by that tzar to sir Thomas Smith, the ambassador from the court of England. His deposition, however, and untimely fate, prevented the good effects of these favourable resolutions; and the civil calamities which, subsequent to his assassination, desolated Russia, almost annihilated the english commerce. But these troubles were no sooner terminated by the election of Michael, than sir James Merricke, ambassador from James I. to the court of Mosco, obtained from the new tzar a fresh patent in

favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or customs, to Archangel, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novgorod, Mosco, and other parts of his dominions. This beneficial commerce, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch, was in 1648 suddenly annihilated by Alexei Mikhailovitch, who banished the english merchants from all the towns and ports of his territory. Cromwell, by a negotiation entered into with this prince, afterwards succeeded so far as to obtain a privilege for his countrymen to trade to Archangel alone. Soon after the restoration, Charles II. desirous of procuring a renewal of the company's privileges, as they existed before the abolition in 1648, dispatched the earl of Carlisle to Mosco, who, by his arrogant and impolitic behaviour, so far frustrated the design of his embassy, that the only point he was able to accomplish was a permission that the English should trade freely into the russian dominions, but remain subject to the duties of export and import. From that period the british commerce has suffered no interruption.

Archangel continued to be the sole port for the exports and imports of Russia, till, upon the building of St. Petersburg, its immunities were abolished by Peter the Great, who removed the

commerce of the White sea to the havens of the Baltic. The british merchants, who were highly favoured by that monarch, settled in the new metropolis, which suddenly became the principal mart for the russian trade. The privileges of the british factory established in Russia were confirmed by a solemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II. and the empress Anne; which was renewed in 1766 between his present majesty and Catharine II. This treaty expiring in 1786, the court of Russia shewed a repugnance to revive it on the old footing; however, at the time of the grand confederacy against the French in 1793, the empress, in order to induce the british ministry to enter into the league, made an offer of renewing the articles of the treaty of 1766, for six years, which was readily embraced by the british cabinet; but no sooner were the ratifications exchanged, than an ukase was issued at Peterfburg, prohibiting the importation of all kinds of british manufactures. The number of foreign vessels that arrive here annually may be stated at 40 or 50, and occasionally more.

The dock-yard belonging to the crown, which has been already described, is not in the town, though it takes its name from it. But here are also yards for ship-building, that have long been
in

in the hands of private persons, who find them very profitable, as timber grows here in great plenty, and is had at a cheap rate. Extensive forests are found not only in this, but also in the bordering government of Olonetz, from whence the timber is brought by water. The exportation of larch timber is expressly prohibited, especially that which grows on the shores of the river Pinega, as it is found nearly equal to oak for the construction of ships. Accordingly the English, in their former trade in wood, could only export deals and masts of fir. At times the price of bauks is surprisingly low; for the people that bring their products from the distant countries to Archangel, construct for that purpose a large float, composed entirely of bauks, which they sell in Archangel for a few kopeeks a-piece.

The soil of the town is of a peculiar nature, apparently nothing more than a tissue of roots. As timber is here of scarcely any value, the streets and roads around are laid with bauks instead of pavement.

The goods exported from Archangelsk into foreign countries, are corn, hemp, flax, hemp-seed and linseed oils, russia leather, furs, seal-calves teeth and skins; seal-skins, tar, pitch, train-oil and tallow; and from Onega there is
a very

a very considerable exportation of mast and other timber. The inhabitants of Archangelsk are famous for turning in bone of several sorts, a variety of curious toys, which they dispose of to great advantage in the different towns and villages. In the Solovetsko island is got clean talc, or Moscovy-glass, which is sold about the country.

The arms of Archangel are, in a field, or, a flying archangel, habited azure, holding in one hand a flaming sword, and in the other a shield gules, and striking at a prostrate devil, sable.

The uniform: A light blue coat, lined with raspberry colour, lappels, collar and cuffs of the same, with five buttons on the cuffs. Waistcoat likewise raspberry colour, and yellow buttons.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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